

K A S H M I R

THEN AND NOW

(5000 B.C. to 1972 A.D.)

By
GWASHA LAL KOUL
Journalist

(*First Impression 1972*)

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*'Think in this battered Caravansarai
Whose portals are alternate night and day,
How Sultan after Sultan with his pomp
Abode his destined hour and went his way'.*

—OMAR KHAYAM

* * * *

*Sweet interchange
Of hill and valley, river, woods and plains
Now land, now lake and lands with forest crowned
Rocks, dens and caves.*

—PARADISE LOST

* * * *

'Kashmir can claim the distinction of being the only region of India which possesses an un-interrupted series of written records of its history, reaching back beyond the period of the Muslim conquest and deserving the name of real chronicles'—Stein.

PREFACE

The present book reviews history of Kashmir from as early period as about 5000 B.C. and brings it up-to-date. It is a gigantic task. The matter has been compressed so as to make the book readable for those who want only a bird's eye-view.

I am aware of shortcomings as well as errors of omission and commission.

Srinagar
1-9-72

G. L. KAUL

INTRODUCTION

To write a history of Kashmir from the earliest times down to the present day is almost an impertinence, for the literature to be explored is so extensive. Where the field is so wide and so much is still obscure, it must be that I have committed some errors. I shall be grateful to any of my readers for corrections as well as suggestions.

The history of Kashmir is more a chronicle of kings and courts and conquests than of organic or national growth. It is at the feet of following masters and other modern writers that I have drawn my inspiration to present a bird's eye-view for guidance of scholars :

Kalhana Pandit, Jonaraja Pandit, Shrivara, Prajyabhata, Haider Malik, Mohammad Azim, Narayan Koul, Hassan, Birbal Kachru, Dewan Kirpa Ram. Of these Kalhana's Rajtarangini is almost a revelation. Among the masterpieces of the world his history is also one. The history of Kashmir takes a different turn from 1931, particularly from 1947 when Dogra Rule collapsed as invasion advanced on the Kashmir soil.

For pre-historic period we get some clues from the remains of ancient buildings, religious books, ballads, folklore, coins and inscriptions.

History, critically studied, teaches one his duties as a citizen. It reveals the vices which cause nations and individuals to decline and fall, and the virtues which lead them to power and prosperity. It is, therefore, necessary that this science of sciences should never be ignored whatever the pursuit of life may be.

G. L. K.

INTRODUCTION

The history of the world is a story of the human race, of its struggles, its triumphs, its failures, and its progress. It is a story of the human mind, of its discoveries, its inventions, its art, and its science. It is a story of the human heart, of its loves, its hates, its hopes, and its fears. It is a story of the human spirit, of its courage, its faith, its hope, and its charity.

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FOREWORD

The history of India, stretching unbroken as it does back to the very dawn of civilization, is a rich and varied tapestry which dazzles us with its sheer immensity. Looked at from one point of view, this vast panorama can be studied as a series of separate, though closely inter-linked, histories of the various regions which comprise this nation. Each region in India has made its contribution towards creating our composite Indian culture, and Kashmir in particular, the glittering crest-jewel that crowns this great nation, has had a colourful history.

There have been many chroniclers of Kashmir history, starting from the famous Kalhana whose *Rajtarangini* (written in 1149 A.D.) is the first real historical work in Indian literature. Since then a number of attempts have been made to analyse and interpret the history of Kashmir, not so much as a chronicle of successive kings but as a study of the toil and labours, the tragedy and triumph, of the industrious and gifted people who inhabit this beautiful valley. Although Kashmir has had its share of bigotry and fanaticism, the keynote of its ethos has been a warm spirit of tolerance and religious harmony. Thus Buddhism and Hinduism coexisted peacefully here for many centuries, while the great Rishis of Kashmir were both Hindus and Muslims and drew their followers from both these religions.

I am not historian myself, and therefore will not attempt in this foreword to enter into any niceties of historical analysis. I would merely like to commend Shri Gwasha Lal Kaul for his labour in producing, within a compass of about three hundred pages, a readable and reliable survey of Kashmir's history. The fact that this book is entering its eighth edition testifies to its utility, and to the author's enterprise in keeping it as up to date as possible.



Karan Mahal, Srinagar
20th October, 1966

KARAN SINGH



THE AUTHOR

- 1923-1928 'Press Representative'
- 1925 President Postmen's Union.
- 1928 President 'Kashmir Youngmen's Club'.
- 1931 Correspondent 'A.P.I. and Reuters'.
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- 1934 Founder and Editor 'The Kashmir Times'.
- 1939 Founder and Editor 'The Kashmir Chronicle'.
- 1947 President 'Kashmir Journalists' Association'.
- 1948 Director of News, Radio Kashmir.
- 1949 Information Officer, Jammu.
- 1950 Information Officer, Kashmir.
- 1960 Back to Journalism.

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CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS AND CREEDS OF KASHMIR

The territory known as the Jammu and Kashmir State lies between 32° and 37° N and 73° and 80° E. It is an almost entirely mountainous region with a strip of level land along with the Punjab border, and its mountains, valleys and lakes comprise some of the grandest sceneries of the world. The State may be divided physically into three areas; the upper, comprising the area drained by the river Indus and its tributaries; the middle, drained by the Jhelum and Kishanganga rivers; and the lower, consisting of the level strip along the southern border and its adjacent ranges of hills. The dividing lines between the three areas are the snow-bound inner and outer Himalayan ranges known as the Zojila and the Panchal. The area of the State is 84,471 sq. miles. Beginning in the South where the great plain of the Punjab ends, it extends Northwards to the high Karakorum mountains where 'the three empires meet'.*

Briefly described, the State comprises the valleys of the three great rivers of Northern India, viz., the upper reaches of the Chenab and the Jhelum and the middle reaches of the Indus. The total population is 35,83,585 (1961 Census). No census was taken in 1951.

Within the boundaries of its mountainous walls dwells a population widely apart in creed but speaking a common tongue. It is necessary, at the outset, that we should form an idea of the main geographical conditions and leading creeds; for natural boundary, climate and creed had much to do with the course of the political history of the country.

Kashmir is surrounded on all sides by huge and thick mountainous walls. It occupies a place in the North-West of Hindustan. On the northern side it runs into the continent of Asia. To its west lies Afghanistan. The plains of Pakistan and Bharat look up to it from the south for a cool breeze. The Himalayan range which includes Chinese Tibet lies to its east.

Kashmir was once isolated from the rest of the world by these physical barriers and easy and rapid communication with other countries was impossible. It was not until the advent of the Dogras when the roads had been planned and metalled that there was a direct intercourse between Kashmir and the rest of the world. In fact, the two Trunk roads—Banihal Cart Road and the Jhelum Valley Road are the greatest contribution of Dogra Rule to Kashmir.

We may distinguish two main land divisions of Kashmir, the Frontier and the Valley. The former consists of Gilgit and Ladakh

* Kashmir has 39 towns and 8,903 villages. The rural population is 35,03,929 and urban 3,62,314 (1941 Census).

on one side and Muzaffarabad on the other. The latter consists of two Wazarats Baramulla and Anantnag through which the Jhelum silently flows. The Frontier is a mountainous tract inhabited by hardy people who witness snow throughout the year. The Valley is a vast plain inhabited by peaceful agriculturists who grow maize and rice in summer and spin cloth in winter. The Pir Panchal, an entanglement of mountains, ravines and forests, often presented a formidable obstacle to the passage of the armies and delayed the spread of civilisation for years.

The Kashmir Valley is 84 miles long and 20 to 25 miles broad. It is over 5,000 ft. above the sea level. It consists of Madanarajya-Maraz (Anantnag Wazarat) and Kramarajya-Kamraj (Baramulla Wazarat). The city of Srinagar is popularly known as Yamurajya. Baramulla District is less productive than the Anantnag District. The city consumes all that is known in the two districts.

The people of Kashmir enjoying a cool climate command a sound physique and we shall read hereafter of many great warriors and teachers who made Kashmir one of the important States of Hindustan.

The chief creeds are Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, Buddhism and Christianity. The earliest known inhabitants of Kashmir are the Hindus, the offsprings of the ancient Aryans. It is out of this stock that subsequent conversions to Islam, Sikhism and Christianity were made. There are now 16,15,428 Muslims, 85,638 Hindus and 27,034 Sikhs living in the Valley. The Buddhists mostly live in Ladakh—(1941 Census).

The inhabitants of the valley are one of the most finely built people of the world and given proper breeding may compare favourably with the white races of the West. The Kashmiris belong to the Indo-Aryan ethnic type. This type approaches most closely to that ascribed to the traditional Aryan colonists of India. Their stature is fairly tall, head long, nose narrow and prominent, but not specially long.

The Kashmiri language is a Prakrit. It sprang from an unaffiliated Apabhramsa. The term Prakrit is applied to all vernaculars and denoted a certain amount of phonetic decay as compared with the literary standards. People speaking Kashmiri tongue total nearly 15,49,460—(1941 Census).

That the Kashmiris form a branch of the race which brought the languages of Indo-Aryan type with India is a fact established by the evidence of their language and physical appearance. But the period of their immigration and the route they came by are still moot points among the authorities on the subject.

—GRIERSON

CHAPTER II

KALHANA

Kalhana was probably the son of Canpaka, the great Kashmirian Minister under Harsha. Born of a prosperous family he took to learning. Brahmin by caste and worshipper of Saiva cult, he still admired Buddhism. The chronicle he has bequeathed to us is written in verse. The introduction was attempted in 1148—49 or Saka 1070 and the work was completed in the following year. The writings of Suvrata, Kshemendra Padmamihara, Nilmatta, Halaraja and Chavilakara must have proved of immense help to him for information about early times.* Kalhana says, 'Kashmir may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits but not by force of soldiers' and it has proved correct.

It may be that Kalhana has sometimes suppressed and sometimes exaggerated things but his delineation of events suffers nowhere from dereliction.

It may be proudly said that while India was poor at history at one time it is Kashmir that gave a lead. Many a scholar has received inspiration from Kalhana from time to time. He cannot distinguish between the legendary and genuine elements of tradition.

The great historian flourished in the twelfth century when Jayasinha was the ruler of Kashmir.

Rajtarangini, his memorable work, will ever continue to be a source of great interest to the world's historians. This book is unique in the literatures of the world.

Kalhana's task was continued by other scholars. Jonaraja Rajavali wrote *Rajtarangini* upto 1459, Shrivara upto 1486, Prajabhatta upto 1512, Shaka upto 1596.

Rajtarangini was translated into Persian in the time of Zain-ul-Abdin and Akbar. Stein's English translation appeared in 1892-1904.

'Kalhana's life-time coincides with one of the most turbulent periods in Kashmir's political history. Events affecting the destinies of ruling dynasties and the welfare of the people happened in quicker

* Unfortunately their works are unavailable at present probably because the *Rajtarangini* supplanted them. But as Kalhana has given up their version in several places it would have been most useful for us to see what their version was and how far that version corresponded with other facts and with modern views. However, regret is of no avail. Stein who has studied the work most carefully opines that Kalhana's history is reliable. Kalhana says that he has got his statement verified by grants, inscriptions and other records. We may, therefore, safely follow him assisted by Huiien Tsang, Chhachanama and such historical data as may elsewhere be available. The study made by R. S. Pandit in his memorable book is also a useful guidance—*River of Kings*.

succession. Had it not been for Kalhana's chronicle we should have known very little about them. King Harsha (1089 to 1101 A.D.) by his own ill-tempered and ill-conceived actions, let loose a stream of tragic events, resulting in untold suffering and confusion. A luxurious court maintained out of all proportions to the financial resources of his government compelled him to impose heavy fiscal exactions and appropriate the assets of the landed aristocracy as well as some religious institutions. These events had their inevitable reactions. Kalhana's picturesque narrative shows how profoundly these influenced his entire outlook on society and contemporary affairs. His descriptions mirror his own personality.

The high position which Kalhana's family occupied apparently gave him the necessary scope for intimate personal contacts with the leading men of his own time. While he maintains a studied reticence about himself, he tries to view the world around him, so troubled and confused, with an observant eye and an open mind which are essential for a chronicler. His insight into human nature is penetrating and his intimate acquaintance with his country's geography and material conditions seems to be surprisingly accurate for a poet. He portrays the men and events of his time not only in their individual manifestations but in their social and historical settings. The kings, the nobles, the priests, the merchants and the general mass of people all receive their due share of comment at his hands. His analysis of social factors that influenced the political events of his time appears to be very accurate indeed.

'The Damaras, as the landed aristocracy of Kashmir were known in those days, constituted a powerful political factor. King Harsha had decided to suppress them. There was a complicated network of intrigues and counter-intrigues aimed at political supremacy for which Kalhana shows the utmost disgust. This state of affairs eventually led to the armed rebellion of the persecuted and disgruntled nobles who, under the leadership of two brothers, Uccala and Sussala of the royal family, succeeded in deposing the king, who was later assassinated. The rise of the Damaras to power made political confusion worse confounded. Intrigues between rival groups persisted and armed revolt by several pretenders to the throne rendered Kashmir's politics most confusing. Kalhana narrates these events with visible pain and disgust. The violent deposition of Harsha had its repercussions on the fortunes of Kalhana's family. Canpaka never entered politics again. He lived for more than thirty years after his retirement from public life. Kalhana appears to have been young at the time. But being very independent and sensitive, he never aspired for any office under any of the rulers. He was too proud to stoop for favours. When he began to write his Chronicle (1148-49 A.D.), Jayasinha, the son of usurper Sussala, was ruling: Kalhana did not conceal his contempt for Jayasinha's character. He denounces Sussala's wanton cruelties and avarice, but showers high praise on the valour and heroism of

Bhikshachara, a pretender whose political ambitions, however, he does not hesitate to condemn.

'Kalhana's remarks about the character of his countrymen are such as only a man endowed with a keen, observant and critical eye, could make. He shows positive aversion for the Damaras as a class. He calls them 'robbers'. Though son of a high and respected official, he shows no enthusiasm for that class. He speaks of their degrading vices with evident relish. Although proud of his birth as a Brahmin, he had an undisguised contempt for the Purohita or priestly class who, we understand, had organised themselves into Parishads or associations at all important centres of pilgrimage. Their ignorance, arrogance and baneful interference in the affairs of the State are portrayed by Kalhana with a biting satire sprinkled frequently with humour and criticism. He testifies to the peace-loving nature of the citizens who, during all these turbulent years, appears to have remained calm and serene.

'We know Kalhana only by the *Rajtarangini*. Of his other literary achievements we know very little. He lived at a time when Hindu religion and culture assumed a highly conventional form. Classes and castes had long been crystallized. Political institutions bore the stamps of a feudal monarchy dominated by interested social groups. The citizens at large lived their normal life, practically unruffled by political events. Kalhana's own education and upbringing, therefore, could not have been anything but conventional. But he always maintained detached and impartial outlook while delineating the men and institutions of his time. His approach was essentially human. The fact that at no time did he aspire for the patronage of any king or class enabled him to maintain a robust individualism. His painstaking scholarship and love for detail helped him to bequeath to posterity an invaluable historical document of rare literary merit. About his own narrative Kalhana says: 'Though in view of the length of the narrative diversity could not be secured by means of amplifications, still there may be found in it something that will please the right-minded.'

RAJ TARANGINI

'Now the present period of Vaivasvata Manu had come, the Prajapati Kasyapa induced the gods Druhina, Upendra, Rudra and others to descend and having caused Jalodbhava who resided in it to be slain, founded upon the site of the lake, the kingdom of Kashmir.

'It is the territory which he under the protection of Nila, supreme lord of all the Nagas, whose parasol is the swelling Nila Kunda with the following waters of the Vitasta for its staff.

'Where Parvati who adores Guha and whose copious milk is drunk by the elephant-faced Ganesa although she has converted herself into

the Vitasta, which turns her face towards low lying lands and whose abundant waters are drunk in mouthfuls by the Nagas, does not abandon her natural impulse.

'It is the resort of the Nagas, prominent among whom were Sankha and Padma, like the city of the Giver of Wealth, of the guardians of treasure.

'It has, forsooth, stretched forth on their back its arms in the guise of its mountain ramparts for the safe-guarding of the Nagas who had approached from terror of Garuda.

'Where within the sanctuary of Papasudana those who touch the husband of Uma in wooden form secure for reward the pleasure of life and liberation.

'Where on a waterless hill the goddess of Twilight is in possession of water which is the ocular demonstration of the presence of piety and the absence of sin.

'Where the self-originating Fire emerging from the womb of the Earth accepts with many arms of flame the votive offering of the sacrifices.

'Where the goddess Saraswati herself may be seen in the form of a swan in a lake on the peak of the Bheda mountain which is hallowed by the rise of the Ganga.

'Where in the shrine—the residence of Shiva at Nandiksetra are to be seen to this day the drops of the votive sandal emollient offered by the celestials.

'In the country adorned by Chakrabhat, Vijayesa, Adikesava and Isana there is not even so much land as can be covered by a sesame seed which is profane.

'Such is Kashmir, the country which may be conquered by the force of spiritual merit but not by armed force; where the inhabitants in consequence fear more the next world; where there are hot baths in winter, comfortable landing places on the river-banks, where the rivers being free from aquatic animals are without peril, where realising that the land created by his father is unable to bear heat the hot-rayed sun honours it by bearing himself with softness even in summer. Learning, high dwelling houses, saffron, iced water, grapes and the like—what is a commonplace there is difficult to secure in paradise'.

'It is a history and it is a poem, though the two perhaps go ill together . . . Written eight hundred years ago, the story is supposed to cover thousands of years but the early part is brief and vague and sometimes fanciful and it is only in the later periods, approaching Kalhana's own times, that we see a close-up and have a detailed account. It is a story of mediaeval times and often enough it is not a pleasant story. There is too much of palace intrigue and murder and treason and civil war and tyranny. It is the story of autocracy and military oligarchy here as in Byzantium or elsewhere. In the main, it is a

story of the kings and the royal families and the nobility, not of the common folk—indeed the very name is the “River of Kings”.

‘And yet Kalhana’s book is something far more than a record of kings’ doings. It is a rich store-house of information political, social and to some extent, economic. We see the panoply of the middle ages, the feudal knights in glittering armour, quixotic chivalry and disgusting cruelty, loyalty upto death and senseless treachery; we read of royal armours and intrigues and of fighting and militant and adulterous queens. Women seem to play quite an important part, not only behind the scenes but in the councils and the field as leaders and soldiers. Sometimes we get intimate glimpses of human relations and human feelings, of love and hatred, of faith and passion. We read of Suyya’s great engineering feats and irrigation works; of Lalitaditya’s distant wars of conquest in far countries: of Meghavahana’s curious attempt to spread non-violence also by conquests; of the building of temples and monasteries and their destruction by unbelievers and iconoclasts who confiscated the temple treasures. And then there were famines and floods and great fires which decimated the population and reduced the survivors to misery.

‘It was a time when the old economic system was decaying; the old order was changing in Kashmir as it was in the rest of India. Kashmir had been a meeting ground of different cultures of Asia, the western Greco-Roman and Iranian and the eastern Mongolian, but essentially it was a part of India and the inheritor of Indo-Aryan traditions. And as the economic structure collapsed it shook up the old Indo-Aryan polity and weakened it and made it an easy prey to internal commotion and foreign conquest. Flashes of old Indo-Aryan ideals come out, but they are already out of date under the changing conditions. Warlords march up and down and make havoc of the people. Popular risings take place—Kalhana describes Kashmir as “a country which delighted in insurrection,” and they are exploited by military leaders and adventurers to their own advantage. We reach the end of that period of decay which ultimately ushered in the Muslim conquest of India. Yet Kashmir was strong enough because of its mountain fastnesses, to withstand and repulse Mahmood of Ghazni, the great conqueror who made a habit of raiding India to fill his coffers and built up an empire in Central Asia. It was nearly two hundred years after Kalhana wrote his history that Kashmir submitted to Muslim rule, and even then it was not by external conquest, but by a local revolution headed by a Muslim official of the last Hindu ruler Queen Kota’.

—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

(Reproduced from R. S. PANDIT’s translation of *Rajtarangini*).

CHAPTER III

PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD

The early history of Kashmir like the birth of James Yellowplush and many other events is 'wrapped up in mystery'.*

Tradition has it that once the valley of Kashmir was a big lake called the Satisar, i.e., the lake of Sati (Durga). In it dwelt numerous Pishachas, Yakshas and Nagas headed by a ferocious demon whose name was Jaldeo or Jaludhar. (Prajapati) Kashyapa, a great sage, son of Marichi and grandson of Brah̥ma (the creator of the whole Universe according to the Hindu Pantheon), practised penance for a long time. The gods Druhina, Upendra and Rudra felt compassion for him. At last the goddess Sharika (the guardian deity of many devotees) moved by pity appeared in the form of a *myna* carrying in her beak a pebble which she threw upon this wicked demon who was a nuisance to humanity. That pebble grew into the Hari Parbat hill of today, the Olympus of the Hindus. Thereafter the whole water was drained off across a hole in the earth near Baramulla (the furrow of the Boar).¹ Since then the land which thus emerged out of water came to be known as Kashyapamar or Kashmir after the famous sage Kashyapa to whom the term 'Rock of Ages' may fitly be applied. Kashyapa did not live alone in this land. He invited people from the plains to settle here. They came every year in hordes and left again at the approach of winter to re-appear again in spring time. Living in winter here in those days was extremely difficult. At this time Nila Nag (Kashyapa's son), the lord of Serpents, came to the rescue and advised people to appease the demons by giving them offerings.² Such, according to the tradition, is the origin of this beautiful land which is attracting thousands of tourists every year. The existence of too much water appears to be an attestation of the existence of the lake which is so nicely wrapped up in fiction.³

Another account is available according to which Balbhadrā, the brother of Vishnu, drained the lake with his ploughshare, whereupon Vishnu slew the demon. Geologists corroborate the story only so far as the existence of the Lake. Traces of beaches on the mountain sides, flat and uniformly even surface of the plateaus, existence of fresh water, fishes and fossil oyster shells of the water chestnut etc., indicate a fluvial origin. The name of Kashmir also implies 'land desiccated from water', (Sanskrit *ka* water, *Shimira* to desiccate). In Puranas Kashmir is called *Garek* (hill).† The ancient Greeks called it *Kashpeiria*. Herodotus mentions it as *Kashyapatros* while Hakatatus calls it by the name of *Kaspalyros* or *Kashyapatros*. It is called *Shie-mi*

* Thackeray.

† Kashmir—*kas* channel *mir* mountain—a deep trough with rocky walls.

¹ Some maintain that in early times it was the dwelling place of Vishnu in his Primeval Boar incarnation. Others are of opinion that Parvati who lives in the mountain Haramuk used to sail her boat in the lake now called Wular.

² These offerings have survived to this day. In winter particularly Hindus of Kashmir prepare special dishes on prescribed days which they offer to demons. Gadbatta, Khichrimawas, Kaupunim and so on, may be traced to these times.

³ Mythology and science speak with almost one voice regarding the lacustrine origin of Kashmir, the 'Paradise on Earth'. To interpret this strange saga scientifically it is very necessary to delve deep into mythology first, which is recorded in the oldest extant Sanskrit manuscript, the 'Nilamatapurana' and in certain other Buddhist and Puranic literature.

According to the Nilamatapurana, 'Kashmir is Parvati—that is, the great Goddess Sati—"the real daughter of the Himalayas gave her body to be that sacred Kashmir". In days of yore, it was a "transparent lake called Satidesa, the Land of Sati, the heart-ravishing playground of the gods." The "cold pure water" of this mountain lake was "deep as the sky", and completely free from obnoxious water-dwelling creatures'.

One morning when the gods were in a playful mood, however, there appeared the demon Sangrahasura who espied Sachi, Indra's consort amidst the heavenly host. Struck by her beauty Sangrahasura's seed fell into the lake which sprouted one day in the form of a bony babe who was brought by the celestial folk of Kashmir, the Nagas. He was named Jalodbhava which in Sanskrit denotes one who has taken birth from water.

The child Jalodbhava grew up to be a giant cannibalistic fiend whose depredations knew no bounds. Before embarking upon his reign of terror, however, he obtained the boon of invulnerability in water from Brahma, the Creator, after performing rigorous penance. After pillaging the mountain hamlets of the Nagas, Jalodbhava would dive deep into the safe sanctuary of the Satisara where no harm could be done to him.

Terror reigned in the 'Land of Parvati', and wanton destruction was the rule rather than the exception. Desperate, the Nagas repaired in a body to their guardian, Nila Naga and prayed to him to make Kashmir safe to live in.

After giving a patient hearing to their pathetic plaint, Nila Naga decided to approach his father, Rishi Kashyapa who was born of the mind of Brahma, for help against the 'water-born' demon. Rishi Kashyapa at that moment was on a pilgrimage in India. When he reached Hardwar, Nila Naga approached him and brought to his notice that he had travelled east, south and west, and he had yet to come to the north—Kashmir, the Crown of the Cosmic Circle—to complete his great circumambulation. Of course, Kashyapa had the premeditated intention to complete his pilgrimage of the Cosmic Circle by visiting Kashmir. The sage was delighted to finish the last lap of his pilgrimage in the company of his son, Nila Naga.

After reaching Jammu, the 'outer cycle' of the great Kashmiri Cosmic Circle, Kashyapa was amazed at the havoc wrought in the country side. He found every place he visited desolate and deserted. The Jammu area, it may be mentioned, was part of Nila Naga's protectorate. After learning the cause

of the desolation, Kashyapa exclaimed, 'Something must be done about this at once'.

When the final doom of the awesome leviathan Jalodbhava was decided on, however, it was Sri or Lakshmi, the consort of Lord Vishnu—who voluntarily undertook to put an end to the menace. It is said that she assumed the form of a Sarika (Sanskrit for myna). This Sarika carried a tiny pebble in her bill, which was especially endowed. She dropped this on the 'water-born' demon of the inland sea whom she despised from a great height.

Jalodbhava frantically shook himself in a titanic effort to dislodge the pebble from his body; but his efforts were in vain, for it had become embedded in his flesh. In a flash, growing in girth and weight, this tiny pebble became a hillock which crushed Jalodbhava to death.

It is said that hillock is Sarikaparvata (the Hillock of Sarika or Sri or Lakshmi), now known as Hari Parbat (*Har* in Kashmiri means a myna or Sarika). With Akbar's fort which crowns it, the serpent shaped hillock is a prominent landmark of Srinagar. On a slope of the hillock is the shrine of Sarika which was built in homage to the goddess for her deliverance of the people. A noteworthy feature of this hillock is that on the slopes or in the environs of it are to be found Hindu, Muslim and Sikh shrines, which fact attests to its sanctity.

Earlier, before the drama of the pebble was enacted in the 1,600 square-mile area of the Satisar, Siva—the lord of the Involutionary Forces—fared forth from his dizzy haunt, Kailasa. He was clad in a doeskin loincloth armed with a mighty trident and besmeared with ashes. He threw the trident with such great force that the Baramulla side of the Kashmir mountain was ripped open, providing an outlet to the imprisoned waters and depriving Jalodbhava of the only source of his sustenance. It was later that Sarika dropped the pebble that crushed Jalodbhava to death.

For this great service which Kashyapa rendered to the vale it was named after him—Kashyapa Mar, the abode of Kashyapa which has now degenerated into Kashmir.

Bethat as it may, science tells us almost the same story. Eminent geologists who have surveyed the valley opine that the mountain on the western side had a weak spot, technically known as a fault. The increasing pressure of the inland sea may have forced this spot to yield. According to a noted geologist Drew, the depth of the lake could not have been short of 2,000 feet.

Another theory which is supported more by facts and figures is the action of seismic explosions which must have sent to smithereens the mighty mountain on the Baramulla side. In this connection, Dr. Francois Bernier, the French traveller, who accompanied Aurangzeb to Kashmir, writes: 'I rather imagine that the mountain sank in some subterranean cavern, which was disclosed by a violent earthquake not uncommon in these countries'. Bernier's theory has much in its favour.

Pandit Kalhana, the poet-historian of Kashmir, frequently refers to earthquakes in his classic chronicle, the 7,844 verse *Rajtarangini*. Severe earthquakes shook Kashmir in 1552 and 1680 A.D. On the fateful day of June 26, 1828, a terrific earthquake destroyed 12,000 houses. One thousand persons died in

this calamity. Another severe shock was felt in Baramulla on May 30, 1885. Three-fourths of the houses of Baramulla Town were totally destroyed. The shock which was felt over an area of 500 square miles destroyed 20,000 houses, killing 30,000 heads of cattle and 3,000 human beings.

But from where did the waters come that were imprisoned among the mountains. They were obviously the remains of the great Glacial Ages of the earth. During those Ice Ages—four times have the continental glaciers crunched down from the north and four times have they receded—the polar ice cap advanced far south of the Arctic. The great mountain chains of Asia and Europe including the Himalayas and the Alps were heavily iced, and became seamed with gigantic glaciers which stretched to the edges of the plains.

Some of the glaciers got encased among the mountains of Kashmir when the ice cap of the earth began gradually to recede towards the north for the fourth and the last time some 10,000 years ago. With the end of the long winter of the earth, the glaciers entrapped in Kashmir began to melt forming the Satisar or the primordial lake that became the Arcadian valley, when it was drained by elemental forces.

IQBAL KAUL

Looking at the valley of Kashmir surrounded as it is by high mountains, which even today are sparsely inhabited, it is hard to understand how Sangrahasura's seed which fell into the lake was brought up by the 'celestial folk of Kashmir', the Nagas, who could not obviously be there in the winter.

It is, however, futile to go into the story, for both from the mythical and the scientific standpoints, it is clear that Kashmir could not have had 'celestial folk' of its own. On the other hand, there is strong evidence that they must have come from the other side of the southern mountains, and must have entered the valley when the water dried up. The entire region from Garhwal to Poonch has an unbroken cultural background, known to be that of the ancient ethnic Nagas, who have been mentioned as early as in the *Mahabharata* and described as 'worshippers of serpents,' by historians who came in the wake of Alexander's incursion. They are also represented in Buddhist paintings as having embraced Buddhism, and there are traces of Buddhist influence extant in this region.

Owing to the peculiar geographical features of the countryside, the Nagas, however, were not a strong and united people. That under the guidance of Kashyapa they first colonised the vale of Kashmir is clear from the story. It is, therefore, fallacious to say that Jammu was colonised by the Nagas of Jammu under the leadership of Kashyapa. Kashmir has ever since been gradually adopting the religion of the people of its southern neighbours, a conjecture confirmed by the predominance of traits of Saivism and Shaktism among the Kashmiri Hindus. Kashmir's fall to Mohammadanism is of rather recent origin and not in a small degree due to the fact that Kashmir had lost contact with the people of Jammu.

J. C. SATHE

in the narrative of To Yeng and Sung You (578 A.D.). Huien Tsang calls it Kia-shi-mi-lo.

According to the *Mahabharata*, the Nagas, 1,000 in number, were born of Kadru, daughter of Daksha Prajapati and one of the 13 wives of Kashyapa Rishi. Their mortal enemy was their half-brother, Garuda, son of Vinata, another wife of Kashyapa and sister of Kadru. Nilanaga and Karkotaka are both worshipped in Kashmir.

A graphic saga of the Nagas' exploits is contained in the *Kathasaritsagara*, the oldest depository of fairy tales of the well known Kashmiri author, Somadeva (C. 10th Century A.D.). The Nagas are shown in their various phases. Their power of transformation into human garb, their curses and sacrifices, the bloody feud between them and the Garuda, the beauty of Nagaloka are all portrayed in verse.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY HINDUS

History is always continuous. There can be no fresh start. The real history of Kashmir begins probably from five thousand years before Christ. It is said that Sri Ram Chandra, the conqueror of Lanka, was the first king who established a kingdom in Kashmir but there is no authentic evidence in proof of this though various shrines named after him exist to this day. For about six hundred and thirty-three years Dayakaran and his fifty-five successors are said to have ruled in Kashmir. Somdatta was probably last of the line.

The Rajtarangini opens with the name of the glorious king of Kashmir, Gonanda I, 'worshipped by the region which Kailasa lights up and which the tossing Ganga clothes with a soft garment' who came to the throne of Kashmir in about 3121 B.C. Kalhana disputes it. He maintains that Gonanda became king in 2448 B.C. (653 Kali).^{*} Professor Wilson places him on the throne in about 1400 B.C. Some suggest 1710 B.C. as the probable date while others are of opinion that he flourished about twenty years before the Mahabharata.¹

Gonanda was a relative of Raja Jarasingh who gave a battle to Lord Krishna. Gonanda went to his succour but was assassinated near about Mathura.

Gonanda I was succeeded by his son Damodara I. He also waged war against Krishna during the Svayamvara celebrations of Raja Gandhar's daughter but was killed. Sri Krishna then gave the throne to his pregnant wife (Yasovati was her name) and when the posthumous child was born he was named Gonanda II. It was during his reign that the Mahabharata was fought. Being a mere boy he was not invited by any party. During his reign there came one Hardev, a descendant of the Pandus, to Kashmir. He was very poor. The king took pity upon him and offered him a job in his service. Hardev became such a great favourite of the king that he was soon made the Dewan. One day he seized an opportunity and made an end of the king. It may be noted here that the contemporaries of the Kurus

^{*} The Kali era is supposed to begin from 3102 B.C. The Saptarishi or Laukika era was also used in Kashmir. It was based upon the theory of revolution of Ursa Major every two thousand seven hundred years. In practice, however, it is reckoned in cycles of a hundred years, beginning in the twenty-fifth year of each century of the Christian era plus twenty-four or twenty five to be added to it. The term Saptarishi is used when the era is counted in full; when the date is abridged by reckoning made in the 100 year cycle it is called Laukika or Loka Kala.

¹ Mrs Bruce says that since the story of Kashmir can be traced back to 2000 B.C. it should command our interest and respect.

and the Pandus have not been recorded which shakes the historical background a little.

Thirty-five kings followed. Raja Ramdev in the line is said to have built the temple at Mattan in about 3007 B.C. Ramdev was a great monarch who defeated five hundred kings in wars. His kingdom extended as far as the Bay of Bengal. He took one-tenth of the land produce as his revenue. Another king named Lava is said to have built the city of Lolara (Lolav). The city is stated to have contained eighty-four lacs of stone buildings. Then followed Kusha and Surendra. Kusha built Kurushara. Surendra founded the town Soraka and also built Khara Narendra-bhawana. Raja Sudarsen was the twentieth king descended from Hardev. During this time there broke out a big earthquake which caused a heavy loss to the country. After many years the kingdom fell into the hands of Wazir Bamro who snatched it from one Prahlad. This Wazir Bamro fell in love with a woman named Lolare and there is a love song in Kashmiri called Lolare-Bamro* which describes the romantic adventures of the couple. Praversen, last of the line, founded the city of Srinagar. Godara, a scion of another family, is also mentioned to have occupied the throne. His son Swarna known as 'giver of gold' was a munificent monarch. After him we come across Janaka, Sacinara and Asoka. It was Asoka who first embraced the doctrine of Jina.

According to various accounts Ogyges or Ogbuz, the Scythian, also invaded Kashmir. He was repulsed by Prince Jaqub of Jammu.¹ Ogyges was forced to leave the country empty-handed because he was a poor match against the assailant.²

In 326 B.C. the king of Kashmir sent his brother to announce submission to Alexander. Alexander had advanced to the Vitasta (Hydaspes) and met the army of King Porus who was promised assistance by the King of Kashmir in spite of the latter's submission to the Macedonian. But Porus was defeated.

Kashmir was not always what it appears to us today. It might have been a huge jungle or a rough mass of land which those early kings were destined to rule. The people lived in rude huts and icy caves, practising austerities and feeding upon herbs and wild plants. No trade facilities of today softened the labour of the people then. Each man had to provide for himself. Money was scarce. 'Exchange or Barter system' prevailed everywhere. In spite of all these disadvantages which the modern man is quite unaware of, they have left to us a tradition 'in simplicity sublime' which has survived centuries

*Some historians are of opinion that this anecdote cannot be historical.

¹ This solitary reference connects the history of Jammu with the history of Kashmir for the first time.

² The story looks fictitious but it is difficult to wean history from fiction relating to a time thousands of years old.

of unrest in the thought-realm influenced by exotic creeds, strange languages and foreign arts.

The kings who ruled in those days were themselves either scholars or patrons of learning. They administered justice according to dictates of Dharma (duty) enjoined by Shastras. They seldom had any lust for pillage. The Brahmins were highly honoured. Their statesmanship won them homage from all.*

The question is—was the common man happy? His needs were few and far between. Society moulded him more for a spiritual life than for worldly pomp. But he had his say in the affairs of administration. Social injustice between man and woman, young and old, weak and strong was, however, noticeable.

* Panchayat Raj was the type of administration known then. But the king was looked upon as the representative of God in whom were vested all powers. He could collect taxes, lead armies and administer justice. Caste system had its say in the make-up of the administration.

CHAPTER V

BUDDHISTS

Asoka surnamed 'The Pious' conquered Kashmir in about 250 B.C. and with him also came Buddhism. Some argue that Buddhism came to Kashmir in the time of King Surendra, ahead of Asoka. Khonamoh near Pampore was an endowment created by his father Khagendra. Surendra built a *vihara* in the city of Samaka corresponding to Suru beyond the Zojila Pass. This was known as Narendra Bhavana. Another was built at Samasa corresponding to Sowur on the shore of Anchar Lake. Janaka built a *vihara* at Jalora corresponding to Zolur in Zainagir. Some believe that Asoka* of Kashmir was different from Asoka of Indian fame. But this view has not been accepted by scholars. He had four sons though Kalhana mentions only Jaluka. The Empire was divided among the four sons and Jaluka got Kashmir. According to Kalhana, Asoka exterminated *mlecchas*, root and branch. Srinagar and Dharamaravya Vihara, the top of which could not be seen by the human eye, so high it was, are attributed to Asoka. However, the State religion did not draw to itself many followers from the populace as the land was under the sway of the learned Brahmins whose fame for scholarship in the Sanskrit lore had travelled to the distant parts of Hindustan, Tibet, China, Java and Japan. Low caste Hindus alone presumably adopted the new faith. It is recorded that Asoka sent Majjhantika (thereat as missionary) to Kashmir who converted about 80,000 people. There is mention of about 500 Buddhist Monasteries in Kashmir in his time. 'He gave up all in Kashmir for the benefit of the Buddhist Church'. During Asoka's regime peace reigned supreme in the country. He had his capital near about the present Pandrethan. This town was destroyed by fire about the end of the tenth century A.D. Only the old temple which then, as now, stood in water escaped the flames.

Some say that Kashmir passed into Asoka's hands on the death of Sacinara who was issueless. Saffron cultivation was introduced in his time. The Siva temple at the shrine of Vijayeshvara (Bijbihara) is also attributed to him.

Asoka¹ was succeeded by his son Jaluka in about 220 B.C. Jaluka²

* Asoka lived in the same period as Hannibal.

¹ While we read old accounts we come across 'Sharda University' somewhere in Keran district. The place known as 'Sharda' is still there but no traces of a University are available. It is this University which allured the Chinese scholars to come to Kashmir on their way to India. It is possible that Asoka may have shifted the scene of this University from Kashmir to Nalanda which later on rose to fame.

² This is one of the numerous instances of religious freedom that while the

was a great worshipper of Siva, the third of the Hindu Trinity, and Avadhuta was his principal instructor.

There is a legend according to which he possessed a magic substance which could transform baser metals into gold. He routed the mlecchas badly. He conquered Kanyakubja and his kingdom extended as far as Kanauj and Kandhar. About him it is said that he used to go to Wangat and bathe there in the spring every morning. One day he was too late. The deity felt compassion for him and so willed that another spring arose in the city called Sahodara (born of the same parents). Thus was he saved of the great trouble of making a long journey every day to the holy spring. To test the identity of Sahodara he threw a golden cup in the original spring and this after two and a half days appeared in the spring at Srinagar. Such devotion is rare indeed. To quote another fable, Kritya once begged food and then human flesh which king Jaluka agreed to give from his own body. The temple on the top of Sankaracharya hill is attributed to him, but it lacks evidence.

After Jaluka we come across Damodra II. He constructed a long dam called Gudsetu. It is said that once* some Brahmins asked the king for food but he requested them to wait till he would bathe. The Brahmins were offended and they at once pronounced a curse which turned the poor king into a serpent. This legend is known as the legend of 'Damodara Suda'.

The Brahmins of Kashmir had become great admirers of Buddhism. Some became its missionaries and went far and wide to preach the new faith to the people. Shak Yashri Bhadia went to China to preach the gospel of Buddha there. Ratanjira went to Bodh Gaya, Udyana and Tibet to spread the new doctrine there. Arhat Madhyantika roamed throughout Kashmir and acquainted the people with Buddhism and its founder. But in spite of this the new faith did not take roots in the soil.

From about 150-100 B.C. Kashmir was under the subjection of Tartar Chiefs. They were immediately followed by the Indo-Scythian kings. They subdued Kashmir when the Romans were conquering Britain and Buddhism was spreading in China. Hushka to whom the date 125 A.D. is assigned founded Aushkar (Hushkapur) and went his way. Then appeared Jushka on the scene (185 A.D.). He established himself at Zakar (Jushkapur) and passed away in 225 A.D. The most notable figure of these was Kanishka (the Kusan king of Gandhara to whom the date 120-160 A.D. has been assigned although this must be accepted with hesitation. Many authorities assign to Kanishka's accession the date 58-57 B.C. Kanishka founded the city of Kanuspur

father, held one belief, the son held another. This legend lends weight to the argument that Jaluka was not the son of Asoka. But at the same time it looks irreconcilable that Asoka should have been a Buddhist and Jaluka, a Sanatanist Hindu.

*These instances are quoted simply to show the part religion played in politics and administration as it did elsewhere also.

(Kanishkapura). His empire extended on both sides of the Hindukush, the Pamirs and the Karakorum range. In Kashmir, he held the famous third great Council of the Church which drew up the 'Northern Canon' or 'Greater Vehicle of Law'. He was a great Buddhist monarch and in his time a famous Bodhistava named Nagarjuna lived at Harwan (Sudrahvava)*. Kanishka's death was tragical, as the story says, and he was smothered with a quilt. Abhimanyu built the town of Abhimanyapura. In that time Chandracarya introduced the Mahabashya. Kashmir witnessed heavy snowfall and it was only averted by the intervention of Nilanag.¹ Gonanda III was a great enemy of Buddhism

* Extensive ruins of an ancient centre of Buddhist culture which 2,000 years ago radiated the Mahayana School of Buddhism to China and the East, are now buried under 300 feet of water. The 110 square miles valley that forms the reservoir was once the site of a noted Buddhist University, huge monastic establishments and the capital of Ikshvaku kings whose queens patronised Buddhism and built viharas. The place was known as Sri Parvata in Satyavahana days and as Vijayapuri during Ikshavaku rule. It was popularly called Nagarjunakonda, after the great exponent of the Mahayana system of Buddhism, Acharya Nagarjuna who spent last years in a monastery built for him on Sri Parvata by Emperor Hala of the Satyavahana dynasty in the first Century A.D. It was during Nagarjuna's stay at Sri Parvata that the place became a great centre of Asian culture and fountain head of the Mahayana system, the form in which Buddhism spread to Tibet, China and the East. Thus it happens that Nagarjuna is mentioned and his name preserved in Tibetan and Chinese literature. Another Nagarjuna who was a noted Tantric is also said to have spent his days here in the 4th or 5th century A.D. Buddhism thrived in this valley for centuries during the reign of the Satyavahanas and Ikshavakus. When Sankaracharya in the 8th century A.D. re-established the pre-eminence of Hinduism and gave a death blow to Buddhist dominance in India, Nagarjunakonda languished and ceased to be the Buddhist centre. Sankaracharya took over the place which today remains the property of the Sankara Mutt of Pushpagiri. The ruins of this ancient city, nestling securely in an enchanting valley, the high ranges of the Nallamalai hills affording it a natural fortification, were not discovered until 1926. A monastery, described by Huien Tsang and stated to be the one built by the Satyavahana ruler for Acharya Nagarjuna, has yet to be located. The Chinese traveller mentioned that the hill had been tunnelled to build this Vihara. He wrote—'In the midst of long galleries, the storeyed building reached five stages, each stage with four halls and viharas. In each vihara was a life-size statue of the Buddha cast in gold, wrought with consummate art and singularly adorned'. The archaeologist has found no trace of it yet. Bodhi Sri built chaitya grihas for fraternities from Ceylon, Kashmir, China and Nepal. Evidence collected from the site indicates that Nagarjunakonda had become a very famous centre of Buddhist learning at this time and students and fraternities were drawn to the place from Burma, Ceylon, Thailand, China and Japan.

¹ Nilanag is also a lake from which the anonymous Nilamatpurana is believed to have emerged. Kashmiri Pandits to this day follow the cult of Nilamatpurana.

who patronised Nilamatpurana. Nara was a wicked monarch. Buddhism received a death-blow at his hands. He also destroyed the town near Vijayeswara. Hiranyaksa founded Hiranyapura at the entrance of the Sindh Valley.

The white Huns began their raids on Kashmir in the first half of the sixth century when England was under the Saxons¹. Vasukula, son of Mihirakula, the Indian Nero, came to power in about 515 A.D. His kingdom extended from Kabul valley to Central India. According to some he got Kashmir in 530 A.D. Perhaps he recovered his lost dominions between 544-550 A.D. From other sources we learn that he succeeded his father Toramana in 510 A.D. and reigned at Sakala (Sialkot) over his Indian territories. There is some confusion that Mihirakula, son of Vasakula and Mihirakula, son of Toramana, could not be one and the same person. An Indian Confederacy led by Narasimha Gupta of Maghda and Yasodharman, a king of Central India, defeated Mihirakula in about 523 and took him prisoner. He was sent out of India and a younger brother seized his kingdom at Sakala. He was befriended by a king of Kashmir whom he afterwards dethroned and thus obtained possession of the kingdom of Gandhara. Mihirakula showed leanings towards the Shaiva cult. He was the worst type of a king. In his time tyranny was the order of the day. His principal hobby was slaughter. The people were very badly off. They were treated as worse than beasts.

It is said that he seldom laughed. Once he was seated on the window of his palace when all of a sudden a huge elephant tumbled down from the top of a neighbouring hill. On seeing the fall he smiled and this was the first and the last smile of his life.* This story may or may not be true but this is corroborated that he once caused destruction of a hundred elephants on the Pass of Pir Panchal.

Mihirakula's son, Baka was a virtuous man. Vasunanda wrote a handbook on erotics. After Nara II came Aksa who founded Aksanala. Gopaditya the Good was a great builder. He founded Agraharas and built the temples of Lyesthesvara and Sankaracharya. Gopaditya's successor Gokarna founded the shrine of Siva, Gokarneshwara. Adhishtra I ended the first Gonanda dynasty. He was a cruel king. Rebellions forced him to abandon his kingdom. Pratapaditya I, a relative of Harsha Vikramaditya, ascended the throne at the request of the disgruntled Ministers. During the reign of Tunjina I, a great famine broke out. Tunjina was a magnificent king. Kavi Chandaka flourished during his reign. Vijaya founded the town of Vijayashwara. It was through the magic of witches that Sandhimati, a wise Minister, is credited to have been brought back to life. Sandhimati Aryaraja ruled piously for about forty-seven years. The disaffection among his

¹ Kalidas was born in Kashmir in the latter half of 5th century. He left Kashmir during the Huns.

* According to one version the fall of the elephant was arranged by him for mere amusement.

subjects, caused by earlier misrule, however, obliged him to abdicate. He died as a recluse at Shiva Bhutesa. The throne was then offered to Meghvahana, son of Gopaditya. He was both strong and pious. Meghvahana proved to be a great patron of Buddhism. He subjugated Vibhishana of Ceylon during 'Digvijay' (conquest of the world). Meghvahana's son, Sresthasena built a number of temples at Pandrethan. Tormana was thrown into captivity for striking coins in his own name as Yuvaraja. Then followed Matrigupta. Vikramaditya of Ujjain despatched this poet with a letter. He did not know what the letter contained. At the frontier pass he was surprised to see himself received by the people's representatives. He was a kind ruler. He maintained peace and won goodwill of his subjects. After a reign of about five years he abdicated in favour of Pravarsena II and latter on died at Banaras as a recluse. Pravarsena heard of Vikramaditya's death and Matrigupta's abdication on his way at Kangra. He conquered Gujrat and founded Prayagpur.^{*} Yudhis-thira II built viharas and buildings everywhere. It is mentioned that Ranaditya ruled for a period of three hundred years. His queen Ranasambha was noble and pious. Baladitya was last of Gonanda's race¹. He married his daughter to one Durlabhavardhana, a small official, who proved to be a descendant of Nagarkarkote and the throne finally passed into his hands.

Durlabhavardhana ruled for thirty-six years. The date of his accession is given by some writers as 598 A.D. and by others as 627 and 602 A.D. His dynasty is called Karkotaka dynasty, because it was protected by the mythical serpent Karkotaka mentioned in the Mahabharata. During his reign Huien Tsang², a Chinese pilgrim who visited India in 631-633 A.D. came to Kashmir via Hashkapura (Hazara) and made remarkable enquiries about the country and its people. He says that the people were handsome and well instructed. Being a Buddhist, he was against idolatry and he writes; 'This is not much given to the faith, and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought'. Elsewhere he says that the people are weak, pusillanimous and cunning. Durlabhavardhana appears to have extended his kingdom by conquering Taxila, Sinhapura and Urasa. His son Pratapaditya (Durlabhaka)

• He was the first to build a bridge of boats across the Jhelum and probably made the embankment from the Dal Gate to the City which separates the Chinara Bagh from the Dal Gate.

¹ We know from Kalhana that the mediaeval period of Indian history actually commenced in Kashmir in the very beginning of the seventh century A.D. with the establishment of a new dynasty of kings. The ancient mythical Govardiya dynasty came to end in Laukika era 3677. This era commenced 25 or 26 years after Kaliyuga which begins in 3101 B.C. Thus the Laukika era which obtained in Kashmir down to Kalhana's days begins with 3075 B.C. This Govardiya ancient dynasty accordingly ended in (3677-3075) 602 A.D.

² He received instruction in Buddhism at Jayendra Vihara and at Harwan Vihara.

ruled for fifty years. He built Pratapapura and married Narendraprabha (Prakasadevi), the wife of a foreign merchant. He was a most meritorious king and Kalhana tells us many stories of his justice and solicitude for the welfare of his people. In 631 A.D. Prunts (Poonch) and Rajouri were subject to the King of Kashmir.

Chandrapida, his son, ruled for nine years. He was a just king who built many shrines but his death was brought about by witchcraft. He was followed by his brother, Tarapida, who ruled for four years only. He was very cruel and he was succeeded by his brother. Lalitaditya Muktapida (699-700-736 A.D.). He was a contemporary of Charlemagne the Great. Lalitaditya was a great monarch. He subjugated the Punjab, Kanauj, Tibet, Badakshan and Peking and returned to Kashmir after twelve years of conquest abroad with the poet Bhavabhuti in his custody whom he afterwards made his poet Laureate. About this time Kashmir had embassies in China. In a letter written in 712 A.D. addressed by Babar to Mohammad Kasim occurs the following passage: 'If I had sent against you the King of Kashmir on whose Royal threshold the Kother rulers of Hind had placed their heads, who sways the whole of Hind, even the countries of Makran and Turan, whose chains a great many noblemen and grandees have willingly placed on their knees and against whom no human being can stand'. Again Al' Beruni remarks, 'The second of Chaitra is a great festival day in Kashmir in honour of victory of its king over the Turks'. He built the temple of Martand (dedicated to the Sun) with a great uncut stone wall and the town of Parihaspur (Shadipur) where also he raised a mighty column. Besides, he dug numerous fine canals and reclaimed waste lands but he did not allow more grain to be kept by cultivators than what they required for a year. There was, however, the corresponding obligation to feed the cultivator and his family when enough grain was not forthcoming on account of adverse agricultural season. This view has the support of Mr V. N. Mehta I.C.S. (refer to the *Twentieth Century* for November, 1934). So generous was he that he ordered a large cauldron to be constructed from which 100,000 persons could be daily fed. Kalhana says that the wealth offered and dedicated to temples could not be counted. He also sent a mission to China of which mention is found in the Chinese annals. Though a Hindu, he was sympathetic to Buddhism and built a Monastery and Stupa at Hushkapur. Rashness was his only vice. In a fit of drunken madness he ordered Pravarsena's beautiful city to be fired and he laughed as he watched the flames. According to another version his wise ministers managed to save the city by putting a huge pyre of dry hay on fire instead. The king thought that the city was burnt.

It was perhaps due to his intention to completely subjugate the Tibetans that Lalitaditya sent his famous embassy to the Chinese court. The Chinese Annals mention that U-li-to, the ambassador of Mo-to-pi (Muktapida), the king of Kashmir, came to the Chinese

court to seek aid from the Emperor against the common enemy, the Tibetans. That Lalitaditya should have endeavoured to enlist the friendship of the powerful Chinese king, Yuen Tsun, is natural enough seeing that the Tibetan expansion threatened the Chinese kingdom too. U-li-to requested an alliance between the Chinese Emperor and Lalitaditya against the Tibetans and the despatch of a Chinese auxiliary force which was to encamp in the midst of his country on the shores of the Mahapadma lake (Wular). He offered to find provisions for an army of 200,000 men and reported that in alliance with the king of Central India he had blocked all the five routes to Tibet. The Kashmirian envoy mentioned also the great success his king had achieved against the Tibetans in all his previous campaigns. But apart from receiving the embassy in a very courteous and hospitable manner the Chinese Emperor does not seem to have found his way to accepting the proposal, perhaps due to the fact that the Emperor was himself involved in quelling a rebellion raised by General Gan Lah-Shan, an officer of Turkish descent, in consequence of which he had ultimately to flee from his capital.

He again left for Turkistan where he died after a reign of seven years*. His sons brought no credit to their father. They survived for some time and disappeared.

On-Kong (759-763 A.D.), another Chinese pilgrim, visited Hindustan in 759 A.D. He gives a memorable account of the land of Kashyapa and its people. During his visit anarchy prevailed. Might was right and all was chaos and confusion. On-Kong says Buddhism was nevertheless in a flourishing condition. He stayed at Pandrethen (Bavarapura)†.

* At some places befitting his exploits, at others in pursuance of convention that proud man usually assigned names to his foundations.

† He founded Suniscitapura where he had formed the resolution for conquest up to the horizon; in the pride of triumph he founded Darpitapura consecrated to Vishnu.

When he was accepting fruits the king had founded Phalapura, Parnotsa where he had received leaves and the Vihara of Kridarama where he held sports.

By fixing one magnet above which pulled upwards and another which in the same way exerted a pull downwards, he put up without supports in Striraj an image of Narhari.

While that monarch was abroad it is said that his architect built a town to bear his name and suffered from his anger as a consequence. In that town which had been named Lalitapura, the king bursting with pride offered to the Sun territory of Kanyakubja together with the villages.

By this high-minded king was founded at Huskapura, the blessed Muktasvamin and a colossal Vihara together with a stupa.

Having taken one crore, he had marched forth for conquest up to the horizon, when he returned he offered eleven crores to Bhutesa for purification.

Jayapida's reign began in 746 A.D. and ended in 795 (782) A.D. According to some, he ruled from 779 to 808 A.D. For conquests abroad he marched out with a huge army and 80,000 litters. The kings of Ganda took to heels before him. By his personal prowess he married Kalyanadevi (or Kamladevi), daughter of Jayanta of Bengal, where he had gone in disguise. Kanauj fell at his mere appearance. On return he slew his brother-in-law Jajia who had usurped the throne during his absence. Jayapida (entitled Vinayadita) was a great patron of learning. He revived the study of Mahabhashya, the

And the king there achieved the construction of a stone temple of Jyestha Rudra with the grant of land and villages.

At Chakradhara, he made a diversion of the waters of the Vitasta and by constructing a series of water-wheels dealt them out widely among the villages.

The magnificent king built the marvellous temple of Martanda with massive stone walls inside encircling ramparts and a township which rejoiced in grape-vines.

At Lokapunya having founded a town replete with various material resources the conqueror presented it, together with villges, to Visnu. Thereafter, the terrestrial Indra who was by nature extremely humorous founded Parihasapura which ridiculed the abode of Indra.

Resplendent was the silver statue of the God, the holy Parihasakesava, as if he were annointed with the lustre of pearls during slumber in the ocean.

As if pleased with the mass of filaments of the lotus on the navel the statue of Visnu—the holy Muktakesava was resplendent in gold. Mahavaraha was radiant wearing the armour of gold like sun when he carries the beams of light to annihilate darkness in Patala.

He had a statue of god Govardhanadhara cast in silver, the whiteness which it bore was due, as it were, to the floods of milk from Gokula.

After erecting a colossal stone fifty-four hands high he placed on the crest of the standard, Garuda, the emblem of Visnu.

They were preceded by Asanga, Vasubandhu, Kumarajina and Buddhahadra in the 4th century, Buddhadana, Dharmakshana (both from Central Asia), Che-yen, Che-mong, Fa-yong.

With large quadrangle, lofty chapels and a colossal statue of Buddha, the king, who was free from the passion, constructed the Rajavihara which always had abundant provisions.

He had used eighty-four thousand Tolakas of gold for the figure and Maktakesava.

The very same number of Palas of silver the pure-minded one collected and constructed the holy Parhasakesava.

Further, with as many thousands of Pasthas of brass he founded a colossal statue of the blessed Buddha which filled the heavens.

The quadrangle and chapel were built with equal amount of money—thus the fine structures were treated alike by him.

great work on grammar by Patanjali and so on. He built Jayapura at Andurkoth. The Naga Lord of the Mahapadma (Wolur) showed him a copper mine for saving him from a sorcerer. The poet historian observes that equally divided between valour and learning, as if placed between two reflecting mirrors, the king seemed not doubled only but made hundredfold. Towards the end he exercised tyranny through his Kayastha officers (a title of mixed Kshatriyas whose caste occupation was writing and government service). Fiscal exactions became the order of the day till at last he died as a result of the falling of his tent upon him. This incident, though ascribed to the curse of a Brahmin, may well have been the action of one of his disgruntled subjects.

There was not a township, no village, no river, no sea, no island where this king did not lay down a sacred foundation.

During the reign of the Karkota dynasty Kashmir enjoyed great power politically being twice the overlord of the whole of northern India. The kings were usually worshippers of Shiva or Vishnu. Under this dynasty Kashmir not only maintained but even increased its renown for learning. It was always an ambition of Indian Pandits to conquer the Pandits of Kashmir, as is evident from Shankara's visit to the temple of Sarda. The aborigines of Kashmir were called Damaras. The upper classes of population were the three Aryan Castes—Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. The Brahmins, of course, were as a class ministers of religion and Government officials. The Sarda character descended from a western variety of the Gupta, first appeared in about 800 A.D. in Kashmir, and the northeast Punjab and has maintained itself in Kashmir since.

Avantivarman (855-883/884 A.D.) who belonged to the Utpala dynasty flourished in the ninth century. He was the most sagacious

At some places of silver, at others of gold, the king who was comparable to Kubera, founded images of the gods by the side of principal deities.

How many precious stones, villages and materials he granted them! Who has the capacity to fix their number accurately?

By the ladies of the royal household, the councillors, the rajahs who were in his service, hundreds of sacred foundations were made which were the marvels of the world.

His queen, Kamalawati, who had founded Kamlahatta, built a large size silver image of Kamalakesava.

The minister, Mitrasarman, too, made a foundation for Siva Mitresvara; the Rajah of Lata, named Kavya, founded the holy Kavyasvamin.

The holy Kavya Vihara which was a marvel was also founded by him where, in course of time, there arose the Bhiksu Sarvajnamitra, who was comparable to Jina.

The Tuhkhara Cankuna, the founder of the Cankuna Vihara, founded a stupa lofty like the king's mind as well as gold images of the Jinas.

By Isanadeve, his wife, was constructed a pond, the water of which was limpid like the nectar-juice and restorative of health for invalids.

king. He built temples at Avantipura, the place named after him since his time. His Minister, Surya, also built Harpur. His court was proud of the two famous poets, Ratnakara and Anandvardhana. He was a staunch Vaishnava. During his reign the price of shali (unhusked rice) fell from 200 to 36 Dinnars (the Roman Denaris). It is about this period that we read of a great engineer, named Suyya, who drained the valley and reclaimed waste land. Suyyapur or Sopore commemorates his name even upto this day. When this great engineer was working at Sopore and no workers were forthcoming to plunge themselves into the rushing water, the king ordered that a part of the treasury may be thrown into the water, on seeing which the workers turned up. Thus was the great engineer's scheme worked out*. Avantivarman died at Tripuresa. He was succeeded by his son, Shankaravarman (883-902 A.D.). For some time he was engaged in a civil war with his cousin Sukhavarman. He maintained an army of nine hundred thousand foot, 300 elephants and one hundred thousand horses (total ten lacs). He was a great conqueror and spent a lot of his time in submontane expeditions¹. But he was avaricious and often revelled in gambling and debauchery. Oppression and fiscal exactions were not rare. Forced labour was common. He went on an expedition to Hazara and in a sudden quarrel with its people a random arrow pierced his throat and he died on the way.

His son Gopalavarman (902-904 A.D.) ruled under the regency of his mother Sugandha. He was killed by the minister Prabhakara-diva.

Partha (906-921 A.D.) came under the influence of Tantrins whom he paid heavy bribes. His reign witnessed the execution of Sugandha, a flood and a famine. The Tantrins deposed him in favour of his father Nirjitavarman (921-923 A.D.).

His child son, Cakravarman (923-933) witnessed a revolution raised by the Tantrins in favour of his half-brother Suryavarman I (933-934 A.D.). He was also deposed and Partha put in his place. Partha was again succeeded by Cakravarman in 935 A.D. Sambhuvardhana whom Tantrins sold the crown got the throne in 935-936 A.D. The Tantrins† were defeated by the Damaras at Srinagar in 936 A.D. Sambhuvardhana was executed. The king proved very cruel. He married women of the despised Dohma caste and raised their relatives to high positions. The Damaras murdered him when he was reclining on the arms of his Dohma Queen. Unmatavanti

* The ancients compared the Jhelum to a 'sleeping lion the doorway of whose den must always be kept wide open near the Khadanyar George to keep it off from doing any harm in the interior of the Valley in case of heavy rain'.

¹ All that he accomplished was an invasion of the neighbouring valley of Kangra and the north of Punjab.

† This tribe, like Praetorian guards of Rome, made a good deal of noise and for sometime became virtually king-makers. They held the same position as did Janizaries.

(937-938 A.D.), son of Partha, was a cruel king. He destroyed all his relatives. Partha who was living on charity was also one day murdered by the king who was his son. At last he died of consumption. Suryavarman II was crowned by Unmatavanti in the year 939 A.D. The commander-in-chief of the forces defeated the child-king but the Brahmins whose consent he wanted voted against him. Yasakara (939-948 A.D.), a Brahmin, was finally chosen for the crown. He had a great legal acumen and ruled mildly.*

*The following anecdotes about this king may be read with interest:

His own wisdom and power of penetration were simply wonderful. He at once went right to the bottom of a thing however intricate and obscure it was and decided it most equitably. Once a man was brought to him who was going to commit suicide by starvation. Asked why he was bent on taking this extreme course, he said 'I was once a wealthy man but, in course of time, became very poor. I contracted debts and my creditors used to trouble me. I then thought that I should clear off my debts by selling my property and then go abroad. So I sold my house. I, however, retained a well for which I used to get rent from gardeners and that I did not sell, retaining it for the sustenance of my wife. I then went abroad and returned with some fortune a short time ago. When I arrived here, I found my wife eking out a miserable existence by working as maid in a man's house. I enquired from her why she had become a maid when I had left means sufficient for her maintenance and she answered that, directly I had left, the merchant who had purchased my house drove her away from the well, saying that the house had been sold by me together with the well. I had recourse to law courts, but they dismissed my claim. I am, therefore, going to put an end to my life.' The king summoned the Judges and the merchant to himself and inquired into the matter. They showed him the deed of sale in which it was clearly written that the man had sold his house together with the well. But the king doubted this in his heart. He, however, ceased talking on this subject as though he had been fully satisfied on seeing the deed and diverted his councillor's attention by discussing other matters and at last began to examine the jewels that they wore. In doing so he took out the ring from the merchant's finger, pretending to see how it was. He then retired to another apartment on a pretence telling them all to wait till he came back. From the other apartment, he secretly sent a man with the ring to the merchant's house, instructing him to show it to his accountant that the merchant wanted the daily account book of the year in which the deed had been executed for producing it before the court and that he had been sent to fetch it at once. The man went and on showing the merchant's ring to the accountant, got from him the daily account book. When the book was brought the king examined the date on which the deed had been executed and found among other items of expenditure, an entry of 1,000 Dinnars paid to the official registrar. A small sum was payable as registration fee and the payment of high fee plainly showed that the registrar had been bribed. *as so* (together) had been interpolated in place of *ra* (without) in the deed. He showed it to his councillor and to the registrar and everyone was convinced of forgery. Then he had not only the well, but also the whole house together

He constructed Mathas and started endowments for students and general public respectively. He chose Varnala as his successor. He died of poison at his Matha. His son Kshemagupta (948—950 A.D.) was very sensual and vicious. He built Kshemagaurishwara out of plunder. Kshemagupta married Didda, daughter of a king of Lohara, named Sinharaja, who possessed energy and political sagacity.

Queen Didda* ruled from (980/81—1003 A.D.). She was the granddaughter of Bhima, Shahi king of Kabul. On the death of her husband she is said to have removed all male scions from the family.

She had enough of diplomatic tact but she was fickle also. She raised Tunga, a herdsman, to high office who ultimately became the queen's paramour. An expedition against Rajouri was sent under the leadership of Tunga. She was succeeded by her nephew, Sangramaraja (1003—1028/29 A.D.), the founder of the Lohara dynasty in Kashmir. In his reign began the final conquest of Hindustan by the Muslims. Tunga who was at first popular became unpopular later. Mahmud Ghazni's invasions of Kashmir in 1015 and 1021

with the property of the merchant given to the plaintiff and exiled the defendant from the country for his cheating.

On another occasion when the king was about to take his food, it was reported to him that a Brahmin in great distress wanted to see him. He called him and inquired what he wanted. The man told him . . . 'I had gone abroad and was now returning to my native land. I had 100 gold coins with me tied in the knot of my clothes. I slept last night at Lawantosa underneath a tree by the roadside. In the morning, when I got up the coins got loose of the knot and fell into a well near by. I was sobbing at this loss when a man told me that if he brought it out how much I would give him. I told him I had no power over this property and whatever seemed right to him, he might give to me out of it. He descended into the well and brought out the coins, but he gave me only two coins and openly retained for himself 98. When I remonstrated against this and appealed to the people who were assembled there, I was frowned out by all, being told that in your reign all transactions were carried out in strict pursuance of the letter of an agreement.' The king consoled the Brahmin and made him partake his food and next day summoned the man from Lawantosa. This man related the whole matter precisely as had been reported by the Brahmin, saying that he had kept 98 coins in accordance with the Brahmin's own stipulation. The king adjudged 98 coins to be returned to the Brahmin and only two coins to be given to the man who had brought them out of the well. 'Had the Brahmin's words,' he declared, been.....'whatever you give, let that be given to me, the transaction, as had been made, could not be revoked but his words were.....'“whatever seemed right to you, you may give me.” The right and reasonable amount to be given for wages to the man who brought them out was 2 coins.'

*It was not an easy job for a woman to rule a country which was a hot-bed of intrigues then. It may be admitted that she was spoilt by Tunga into whose hands she played.

A.D. are the only important events of his reign. Sangramaraja sent some help to Trilochanapala, Shahi king of Kabul against Mahmud Ghazni. The Hindus sustained a defeat in the battle fought by him in 1021 A.D. with the aid of Kashmir troops. Trilochanapala fled from place to place and probably his son Bhima also whose end is recorded in 1027. But his other sons or cousins, Rudrapala and others, remained in Kashmir under the protection of Sangramaraja who was probably their relative. Tunga was at last murdered at the instigation of the king.

Next came Anantadev (1029-1039/1028-1063 A.D.) He married Suryamati, the younger daughter of Trigarta, king of Indracanda. Hewas a weak administrator, but he had a wise counsellor in his Queen.* They were ill-treated in their old age by their son and Ananta died in grief. The Damaras under Tribhauna were routed. The king also beat back the Dards and the Mlecchas'.¹ The queen built the temple of Sadasiva. Kashmir had a busy trade with India. One Haladhana of very humble origin rose to the position of Prime Minister. The king abdicated in favour of his son, Kalsha Dev (1039/1063-1089 A.D.). Like so many of his line he also proved a weak king. There arose a conflict between Ananta and Kalsha in 1076 A.D. Ananta retired to Vijayshwara with the State treasury. Kalsha turned out a vagabond, set fire to Vijayshwara and got hold of the treasury. Ananta was enraged and committed suicide in 1081 A.D. and Suryamati died as a *sati*. This turned over a new leaf in the character of Kalsha. He helped Sangramapala of Rajapuri. With the help of Vamana and Kandarpa he consolidated his kingdom and improved internal administration. About eight rulers paid homage to him in 1087-88 A.D. Again he became licentious and died at Martand in 1089/1093 A.D. His son Utkarsa was an injudicious prince. He was thrown into a prison where he committed suicide. According to another version Vijayshwara raised a rebellion in favour of Harsha against Utkarsa who was defeated and killed in battle in 1089. Harsha Dev's reign lasted from 1089-1101 A.D. (He is not the Emperor Harsha who ruled in India from 606-647 A.D. Harsha had a powerful frame. He was beautiful as well as courageous, but a bit self-willed. He was also a great patron of learning (science, music and art) and himself a scholar but greed, cunning and craft dominated his character. He was sometimes kind and liberal also. Vijayshwara fled to Dardistan where he was killed by an avalanche. Conquest of Rajapuri and changes in dress are two important factors of his reign. He executed his half-brother Jayaraja in 1095 A.D. and Dhamata with his four brave sons.

*She gave him wholesome advice in times of difficulty and piloted the State affairs with caution.

¹ The invasion by the Turks assisted by Dards was brought into Kashmir by a treacherous Sardar. By the valour of the Shahi Princes and Anantraja himself this formidable force was utterly defeated and Kashmir was saved from being subjected to Muslim rule for about 200 years more.

He imposed oppressive taxes and demolished temples to meet the expenses of his pleasures. This is not all. He also committed acts of incest with his own relatives. The expedition against Rajapuri was not successful. In 1098 A.D., the king was defeated in an expedition against the Dards of Dur Khut. The year 1099 A.D. witnessed plague, plunder, flood and famine. The persecution of Damaras had a severe effect. Uccala and Sussala fled in 1100 A.D. to Rajapuri and Kalinjar respectively. They both invaded but were repulsed. Their father, Malla, was mercilessly executed. The king's last days saw nothing but intrigues and rebellion. Harsha relentlessly persecuted the partisans of Vijayamala and misrule and oppression became so acute that Uccala*, a collateral cousin, succeeded in leading a rebellion, defeating Harsha and taking possession of the capital. Harsha's queens burnt themselves in the palace while he himself took refuge in a Matha. His son, Bhoja, who had been expelled came to Kashmir to relieve him but was killed in a battle with Uccala. Harsha finding everything going adverse, rushed upon the soldiers who had surrounded the Matha and was killed. Kalhana's father, Canapaka, alone remained faithful to the king. Some maintain that he was cut off and burnt. This may be true but he died fighting like a hero and his death resembles that of the unfortunate Dara Shikoh of Moghal history. Thus the first branch of the Lohara Dynasty ruled Kashmir for about a hundred years (1003-1101). His successor Uccala (1101-1111 A.D.) was a fairly energetic man¹.

*He moved incognito like the great Caliph Harun-al-Rashid to discover unrest and distress.

¹Once a law suit, between a marchant and his customer which the magistrate could not decide, came to his notice. The facts of the case were that a man had deposited a lakh of Dinnars with a merchant. He subsequently took small sums of money from him from time to time. When twenty or thirty years passed, the depositor came to him and asked him to return the balance of his deposit that remained with him after deducting the amount actually drawn by him. The merchant after deferring the payment for a long time, at last when the depositor persisted in his demand showed him his account book in which were fraudulently recorded the following items which were, on the face of them, preposterous, fictitious and false:

100 dinnars paid for repairs to a shoe and a whip.

50 dinnars for ghee to be applied to a blister on the foot.

300 dinnars given out of pity by the depositor to a porter woman who was crying over her broken pots.

100 dinnars taken by the depositor for purchase of mice and fish juice to feed tenderly the kittens of a cat.

700 dinnars taken by the depositor for butter as an ointment for the feet as well as rice flour, ghee and honey on the occasion of the bath of the Shradha fortnight.

100 dinnars taken by the depositor's little boy for honey and ginger to be used to get rid of an attack of cough.

The king put down rebellion with a strong hand by following the policy of 'divide and rule'. He ceded Lohara territory to Sussala. But he had his faults also. He was jealous of others merits. (That he reigned from 1111 to 1122 A.D. is disputed). Sussala attempted an invasion but was repulsed. The king first brought up Bhitsacara (the grandson of Harsha), but then he had to take refuge in Malva. A conspiracy was formed against him by Chudda and his brothers and the poor fellow was murdered by the city prefect on the eighth of December 1111 A.D. Sussala (1112-1120 A.D.) was cruel and harsh. He imprisoned Salhana and Lothana. Garchandra, the king-maker, was first humiliated and then murdered with his three sons and one brother-in-law in 1118 A.D. The Damaras rebelled and defeated the king often. They installed Bhitsacara but he also proved sensual. Trade became dull and money scarce. Sussala (1121-1128 A.D.) again seized the throne. The civil war made the country very poor. (Jayasinha was nominally crowned but kept under surveillance). He entered into a secret pact with Utpala, the treacherous agent of Tikka—a powerful baron—which led to the murder of the king in 1128 A.D. Jayasinha* (1128-1149 A.D.) announced general amnesty. According to Jonaraja, Jayasinha ruled five years longer. Utpala was captured and killed Bhitsacara was routed and killed in 1130 A.D. Suja was murdered by the king in 1133 A.D. at the instigation of courtiers. Feudalism is an important feature of his reign. Bhoja surrendered

3,000 dinnars taken by the depositor for the incense and onions presented to his gurus.

Other items which the merchant said, he had forgotten, as well as the interest on the whole sum advanced.

The merchant told the depositor that he would debit all these items to his deposits and pay the balance.

Uccala ordered the merchant that if any portion of the money was still with him he should produce it before him prior to his judgment. The money was brought and among the coins, he found coins of his own reign. But the deposit had been kept with the merchant when Kalsha (1091-99 A.D.) was ruling, twenty years before Uccala's reign had commenced. So it was evident that the deposit had been used for other purposes by the merchant. The king then declared his judgment, stating that the plaintiff must pay to the defendant interest on what he had taken from him from time to time up-to-date and the defendant too must pay the plaintiff interest on the full lakh of dinnars from the time of its being deposited together with the amount of the deposit.

*Thus it happened that at this very time a son was born to King Sussala capable of delivering the earth from the catastrophe in which it was sinking (1105 A.D.).

Commencing from the time of the child's birth the king achieved victory everywhere and so he was appropriately named Jayasinha—the lion of victory.

As owing to the realisation of all the desired powers Sarvarthasidha is both an appropriate and the proper name of the Buddha so in the case of this

himself to the king in 1145 A.D. In short, the king's whole reign was engaged in internecine wars¹.

The Lohara dynasty was a Rajput dynasty and thus in the 11th and 12th centuries, as elsewhere in India, there were Rajput kings in Kashmir also. The preceding dynasty of Parvagupta was a Vaisya dynasty while that which preceded it, *viz.*, that of Yasakara was a Brahmin dynasty. It may, however, be added that these two were also practically Kshatriyas as they married into Kshatriya families and followed Kshatriya life and ritual. The Lohara ruling family is said to belong to the Bhatti clan of Rajputs and hence the Kashmir kings were probably Bhattis. It is thus clear that inter-caste marriages were an order of the day in Kashmir in those times.

The Damaras in Kashmir were a turbulent local people who were always troublesome to the reigning king and helpful to rebels. 'King Harsha ordered slaughter of these Damaras; but they combined with two refugee princes and put an end to his life' (*Punjab Historical Records*, Vol. II, p. 81). Thus it seems that Uccala gained the throne with the usual help of powerful Damaras.

With a few solitary exceptions the ninth, tenth and twelfth centuries are described as full of hardships and misery. Short reigns, murders and suicides were a feature of this period. Anybody could rise to power and snatch the throne from his rival. History generally repeats itself. Even countries like France, Italy, Hungary and the Rhine passed through similar ups and downs.

The whole period exhibits on a smaller scale how despotic kingly government always tends to abuse after a brief period of glorious exhibition of justice and valour, how degenerate and debauch kings succeeded highly vigorous and conscientious kings in the same line, how while power is borne with a great weight of conscience by some kings, in the hands of others it becomes the instrument of oppression and opportunity for licentiousness, how for some time able ministers under

king his appropriate appellation did not cease to have the conventional use restricting the name to him.

On seeing the mark which had manifested itself on the foot of the prince King Uccala's displeasure towards his brother had disappeared.

It was this very mark on the child's foot which had removed the bitterness between the father and the uncle and had brought tranquillity to both the realms. Thereafter to require merit King Uccala erected a Matha, in the name of his father who had gone to heaven on the site of his ancestral property.

By his gift of cows, lands, gold, wearing apparel and grain on the great festive occasion the open handed king became to all suppliants like the wonder-working wishing tree.

Even mighty kings in distant lands were amazed at the presents of great value sent to them by the monarch whose opulence was the subject of praise.

¹ History cannot exonerate this ruler who fomented further intrigues the result of which was chaos and confusion in the whole realm.

the firm guidance of able rulers achieve great progress in administration, and how during another period unscrupulous ministers keep the country under their heel by bribery and terrorizing under incapable masters, how while under some kings an organized army is the means of securing peace at home and respect abroad, under others it becomes the defacto masters of the State raising to the throne puppet after puppet, and how lastly the love of kingship sets father against son and son against father, not to speak of brother against brother and even mother against son and wife against husband. These and similar regular tendencies of despotic rule are fully exhibited elsewhere also at Rome, at Baghdad, at Delhi, at Cairo and so on.

Kālhana flourished in the twelfth century when Jayasinha was guiding the destinies of Kashmir.

Buddhism came to Kashmir when Sanskrit lore was in full bloom. Kashmir had produced eminent scholars and poets. They, of course, became its admirers, not adherents. The proof of this, if a proof at all were required, lies in the fact that not a single Buddhist Vihara or Buddhist Monastery has survived to this day in Kashmir proper.*

Buddhism disappeared from Kashmir by about 638 A.D. and stayed here for about nine centuries causing no change in the Sanatan Dharma. Shankaracharya, the Missionary, who once came to Kashmir,¹ waged a great war against it. He was accommodated in the famous Gope Temple on the top of the Gopa Hill which later came to be known as Shankaracharya Temple and Shankaracharya Hill. There are many causes that led to its overthrow. One is that eminent scholars appeared on the scene who revived the Sanskrit literature. Says Al-Beruni.

'The Brahmins do not allow the Vedas to be committed to writing because it is recited according to certain moderations. They, therefore, avoid the use of pen as it is liable to cause error. The Vedas are consequently often lost'. He further says that not long before his time Vasukra, a native of Kashmir and a famous Brahmin, undertook the task of explaining the Vedas and committing them to writing, because he was afraid that the Vedas might be forgotten. 'He has taken upon himself a task from which all shrink'. Thus the Vedas were first written in about 1000 A.D. in Kashmir for the purpose of commenting upon them by Vasukra.

Vasukra, a small village near Sumbal in Kamraj, is probably named

*Other Buddhist scholars or missionaries were:

Kumarajina born in 344 A.D. He went to China. Vimalaksha—he went to Kucha. Punyatara—he went to China. Buddha Yasha—he went to China and Kashgar. Buddhajine reached Nanking in 423 A.D. Gunavarman—he went to Ceylon and Jawa. Dharma Mithra—he died in 442 A.D. Besides these there were other Kashmiri monks or scholars who have left memorable records.

¹ This is not correct. Further research in the matter reveals that Adi Shankara never came to Kashmir. Myths cannot become facts.

after this great Brahmin where Rup Bhawani, equally great Kashmiri female saint, later on settled herself for study as well as penance.

The Buddhist monarchs were great builders and architects. They built huge temples and palaces. Imagination is struck when one sees massive stones used in these buildings which have in some places survived to this day. The city contained 36 lakhs of houses in the time of Praversen II.

The 10th and 11th centuries were parallel to Italy under Pope Alexander VI and Caesar Borgia.

Shaivism, then Buddhism and then Tantrism—all three attained heights in Kashmir during the whole course of history until the coming of Muslims. Many a scholar appeared and carried forward the literature. Some books have survived as masterpieces.

According to some Tantrism flowed from Shaivism and according to others it sprang from Buddhism. Buddhism and Buddhist literature was in a flourishing condition in the time of Karkotas. There were tendencies to bring them nearer to the various Hindu cults. Like Shaivism, Buddhism also developed a sacred pantheon. Sarvajnamitra's devotional poems 'Srogdhara-Stotra' is well known. The Yogachara system of Asanga led to the growth of Tantrism within Buddhism. Tantrism is regarded as belief in mantras or in magic and sorcery. Brha-Nila-Tantram, Buddhist in origin, received a Shaivite garb. Chankuna, Lalitaditya's minister, got the image of Brahma-Buddha from his master in return for two spells or magical charms which, according to Kalhana, could check the flow of flooded rivers. Marco Polo credited Kashmiris with 'making their idols speak'. Says the Venetian traveller—'Indeed this country (Kashmir) is the very source from which idolatry (Buddhism) has spread abroad'. Growth of Tantrism brought Buddhism very near to Shaivism as then prevalent in the valley and the Buddhism which the Kashmiri monks thereafter gave their northern neighbours may be called Shiv-Buddhism. Side by side Kashmir exported art, astrology, mathematics, medicine, music, dancing, customs and superstitions, even the alphabet.

Among the cultural conquests of Kashmir come China, Tibet, Central Asia, Mongolia, Korea, Nepal, Burma and Japan.

CHAPTER VI

MUSLIMS

Mahmud Ghazni attacked Kashmir with a huge army of 'human locusts' over the Pir Panchal Pass in 1015 and 1021 A.D. He met with opposition both from man and elements and had to retire. The successors of Didda were able to save the Kingdom of Kashmir from being swallowed up in the flood of Mohammedan conquest which submerged first the Punjab under Mahmud and later Northern India under Sahab-ud-Din Ghorî. When Sir V. Smith says that Kashmir was protected by its inaccessible mountains he is right. Mahmud Ghazni possessed great energy and spirit of command joined to 'burning ambition and the temper of Zealot'. He was a go-ahead conqueror. He caused great pillage wherever he went in India. Mahmud was no constructive or farseeing statesman but he was a great lover of learning. Had he taken hold of Kashmir it cannot be said what fate the previous civilisations would have met at his hands.

From 1295-1324-25 A.D. the throne of Kashmir was occupied by Raja Simha Dev. In his time came to Kashmir* Shahmir from Swat, Renchen Shah¹ from Tibet and Lankar Chak² from Dardistan. They took service under the king and were granted Jagirs.³

Little could the king foresee that the very men he was harbouring in his kingdom with such kindness and traditional hospitality would one day overthrow his rule in Kashmir. He well played the host but the guests, untrue to their salt, returned his hospitality in a way of which very few parallels can be had in the world's history. In 1322 A.D. Zulfi Kadir Khan *alias* Dulch, a descendant of Changez Khan, the Terrible, came from Turkestan with a force of 70,000 cavalry and invaded Kashmir. He wrought havoc in the country and carried with him a booty of about 50,000 Brahmins and slaves who perished on the way in a snow-storm near a place called the Devasar Pass.⁴

* He was a grandson of Fur Shah, a famous hermit. This man traced his pedigree thus: Shah Mir, the son of Tahir, the son of Ali, the son of Koershasp, the son of Nikodur, a descendant from Arjun, the Pandu an infidel. Historians have dismissed this fantastic claim of such geneology.

¹ He was a Tibetan Prince who had been defeated by his uncle.

² He was a ruler of Dardistan who was vanquished in a battle by his enemies.

³ There is mention of invasion by Marco Polo and Mongol Nikodur also but nowhere are any relevant references available which could connect them historically with this country.

⁴ The city of Srinagar was also set on fire by this barbarous invader.

Simha Dev fled to Kishtwar* and Ram Chand returned and declared himself king but was soon killed treacherously by Renchen Shah and Shahmir who had intrigued against him when he was sleeping in his room. Renchen Shah became the most influential man in the court and he married Kuta Rani, daughter of Ram Chand. Being disgusted with the hostile attitude of the Hindus† he took a vow that he would adopt the religion of the person he would see early the next morning. It is said that the person whom he first saw the next morning was one Bulbul Shah who afterwards converted him to Islam. Renchen Shah (1325-27 A.D.) assumed the title of Sadar-ud-Din. He persecuted the Hindus with a spirit of vengeance. This short sighted policy of the Hindus has often harmed the very cause for which they stand. He built Bulbul Lankar and Khankah. Renchen Shah died after ruling for about two years and seven months.

After his death, Udyandev (brother of Simhadev) returned and ascended the throne in 1327 A.D. He married the widow-queen and reigned for a period of about fifteen years.¹ In 1331 A.D. Urwan, a Tartar Chief, invaded Kashmir via Hirpur. The king fled towards Tibet² but the queen showed enormous courage. Shah Mir who was Prime Minister offered his hand to Kuta Rani but she refused. She also is said to have reigned for a period of about fifty days. Kuta Rani brought about her own death in order to escape from the cruel hands of Shah Mir who seized the throne and declared himself king under the title of Shams-ud-Din in 1343 A.D. The full story of the tragedy runs like this:

On Kuta Rani's refusal to Shah Mir's offer he went and laid siege to her palace in order to compel her to accept his offer. The siege continued for a long time. The gallant Rani held out splendidly. At last tired and exhausted she decided to give way to avoid further blood-shed of her faithful servants. She sent a message to Shah Mir that she would now accept his offer. Shah Mir became overjoyed at this. A day for the marriage ceremony was settled. There were

*The Small Hill State of Kashthavata (modern Kishtwar) was ruled by a Rajput family which was a dependent of Kashmir, as the name of a king, Uttamaraja of Kashthavata appears among the names of those eight feudatories who attended on Kalsha, king of Kashmir in 1073 A.D. The article of Hutchinson and Vogel in *J Punjab H.S.*, Vol. IV (pp. 29-41) may be referred to on the subject. It seems that the first king of Kahnepala, who was sprung from the Suket family, came to this part later and conquered it in about 1200 A.D. or thereafter. This state is now a part of Kashmir, having been conquered by the Sikhs in the days of Ranjit Singh. To what clan Uttamaraja's family belonged there is no material to determine.

† They were headed by one Deva Swami in their protest against his admission to their caste.

¹ Shah Mir served as Prime Minister under him.

² He died after reigning for 15 years and two months.

rejoicings in the whole country. The Rani wore a rich costume and precious ornaments¹.

But Kuta Rani stabbed herself to death on his entering her apartment and called him a despicable wretch for cherishing the idea of marrying his master's widow who was thus his mother. He hardly ruled for about four years. Shams-ud-Din demanded one-sixth of the total produce as revenue. He was not a bad king but he introduced his own era commencing from the date of coronation of Renchen Shah.

Ferishta says that Kuta Rani had consented, reluctantly though, to become the wife of Shah Mir and to embrace Islam. This is an event which secured to him the country he had before nearly usurped. He further says that the second day after his marriage Shah Mir imprisoned his wife and proclaimed himself king. This account does not look convincing.

Shah Mir was succeeded by his eldest son Sultan Jamshed (1347-1348 A.D.)*. His younger brother Ali Sher rebelled against him and defeated him near about Avantipura. Sultan Ala-ud-Din Ali Sher (1348-1360 A.D.) repaired many buildings and founded Ala-ud-Dinapura.† His last days were marked by a great famine. He was followed by his eldest son Sultan Shahab-ud-Din (1360-1378 A.D.). He consolidated internal administration and subjugated almost all the neighbouring chiefs. During conquests abroad his forces gave a challenge to Feroz Shah Tuglaq. A treaty was signed and Shahab-ud-Din was recognised king of the whole territory from Sirhind to Kashmir. During the reign of this Sultan many a temple of the Hindus were demolished. His last days were miserable due to the divorce of his first wife and a severe flood which devastated corn fields. His brother Kutab-ud-Din (1378-1394 A.D.) was a patron of learning. The Chief of Lohara (Loharkot) was killed during his contest against the king. Kutab-ud-Din† welcomed Hassan Shah to his court after the death of his father but when he rebelled the Sultan caught him and put him in a prison.

¹ The queen has set a noble example so far as character at least is concerned. There is no evidence available that Kuta Rani had embraced Islam. According to another account Kuta Rani and her two sons were thrown by Shah Mir into prison where they died.

* He fixed land revenue at 17 per cent.

† About this period some Brahmins endeavoured to migrate to Kashgar. The king supposing it to be for the purpose of a revolt caused them to be seized and confined for life.

Places of worship retained their sanctity. Shahab-ud-Din (1360-78 A.D.) refused to melt the brass image of Brihat Buddha and coin the metal into money.

† Kutab-ud-Din performed a Hindu religious sacrifice and gave lands to Brahmins to avert a famine. Sikander's birth is attributed to the efficacy of the magic pill of a Hindu ascetic. He was married to a Hindu girl Sri Sobha.

During his reign there came one Mir Syed Ali* from Hamdan and he engaged himself in proselytising. Conversions went on undisturbed for some time but force seldom kills the soul of a people.

Sikandar, the Iconoclast, (1394-1417 A.D.) has won some notoriety in the pages of history for persecution of the Hindus and desecration of their temples including those at Martand, Avantipura, Pandrethan, Ganeshbal and Bijbihara¹. It is said that he was prejudiced against the Hindus by his minister Suyā Bhat, a Hindu convert to Islam, and this may be correct but it does not exonerate the king for his prejudicial policy against Hindus. In his time Timur (1398 A.D.) invaded India but Sikandar evaded him by sending him rich presents. Nevertheless he was a strong ruler. The defeat of Rajamadri and the visit of Syed Mir Mohammad Hamdani are worth mentioning here. Sikandar was succeeded by his son Ali Shah (1417-1423 A.D.). He was also not tolerant of other faiths. He was a contemporary of Henry VI of England. In his time unrest and tyranny prevailed in the country and there was chaos. Life and property were unsafe. Hindus were put to great difficulties.

Zain-ul-Abdin *alias* Badshah (1423-1474 A.D.), the Tolerant, reigned peacefully for a period of about fifty years. Wisdom and prudence in all that he did were revealed; The faculties hoods seemed under his crown concealed.

He was a great monarch who loved his subjects well. He gave freedom of thought in religion to all. It was in his time that there came from the plains the Kaul and the Dar families headed by Pandit Maheshwar Nath Kaul and Mirza Pandit Dar. Their off-shoots are still called Bhanamasis. Zain-ul-Abdin² was a great patron of learning and maintained good many scholars, both Hindu and Muslim at his court. Once he had a quarrel with the poet Mulla Ahmad.³

* According to certain accounts this was his second visit to Kashmir, the first being in the reign of Sahab-ud-din (1360-1378 A.D.).

He was Wycliff inaugurating Lollard movement in England, contemporary of Richard II, son of Black Prince of England and Henry IV and V.

¹ In another place there was a temple built by Raja Bulnat, the destruction of which was attended with a remarkable coincidence. After it had been levelled and the people were employed in digging the foundation, a copper-plate was discovered on which was the following inscription according to Ferishta:

'Raja Bulnat, having built this temple, desired his astrologer to say how long it would last. He was told that after eleven hundred years, a king named Sikandar, would destroy it as well as other temples'. The king was surprised though vexed, that the Hindu prophet should have predicted the truth.

² What respect Akbar won in the 16th century, Zain-ul-Abdin had earned about a century earlier. Both commanded equal respect in their time.

³ In his time Mulla Ahmed Kashmiri translated Mahabharata into Persian and Uttha Soma wrote Zaina Charita. The indigenous university was known as Dar-ul-Alum.

The poet was banished but he was soon recalled on writing a panegyric. Hindus gained great favour under him and got many offices in the State. Those who accepted offices came to be called *Karkuns* (official class) and the rest *Bachabats* (priestly class). The latter devoted themselves to religious study and the performance of Vedic rites. The two sections now form two distinct castes and still do not intermarry.

Zain-ul-Abdin was the favourite son of his father, and it was because of this that he received a good education at home. Fortunately for him and the people of Kashmir he got an opportunity to travel abroad and learn new arts and crafts at the court of Tamerlane in Samarqand. How he got the opportunity is an interesting story in itself. In 1397 A.D. Timur Lang or Tamerlane, after his conquest of Persia and Turkistan, came to India. Sikandar was then the ruler of Kashmir and when Tamerlane reached Attock, Sikandar wrote to him acknowledging him as his leige lord. Tamerlane was pleased at this and sent him an elephant and other gifts in token of his accepting Sikandar's allegiance. On receipt of these, Sikandar sent several precious articles as presents to Tamerlane and wrote to him praying for the honour of being permitted to come in his audience to pay homage to him. Tamerlane replied that he should come to meet him at Attock when he would be returning after the conquest of Hindustan. When Tamerlane was returning to Samarqand after his sanguinary and plundering career in Hindustan, Sikandar started from Srinagar with various rare articles which he wanted to present to him at Attock. But he had not gone farther than Baramulla when news was received that Tamerlane had already proceeded from Attock towards Samarqand. Sikandar then returned to Srinagar and sent his second son, Shahi Khan, then a young boy, with the presents to Tamerlane at Samarqand. Shahi Khan carried out his father's mission successfully. Tamerlane bestowed much favour upon Shahi Khan but the latter could not obtain permission to return to Kashmir for seven years. During this long period Shahi Khan took the opportunity of interesting himself in the arts and crafts of Samarqand which, being the capital of the great conqueror, was at the height of its wealth and glory. When Tamerlane died in 1405 while conducting a vast expedition against China over the mountains of Tartary, Shahi Khan returned to Kashmir.

He was also a great engineer and builder. He caused Nalla Mar (a canal) to be dug out. This was crossed by seven bridges at intervals. In the town of Naushera (founded by him), he constructed a magnificent palace, twelve storeys high, of which each storey contained fifty rooms, each of which could accommodate five hundred persons at once. This huge building was called Zaina Dau. Zainagir, Zainpur, Zaina Pattan, Zaina Kundal, Zaina Kut, Zaina Bazar, Zaina Kadal on the Jhelum in Srinagar and Zaina Lank (now known as Sona Lank) are also attributed to him. That is not all. A great

dam was built from Anderkot to Sopore which also served the purpose of a road. It is said that one day one of the princes while moving in a boat threw a pebble on an earthen jar carried by a Hindu lady from the Ali Kadal ghat. The prince suddenly swooned and the water did not fall from the jar. Was it due to some spiritual power? The prince, however, was restored back to health at the request of the Sultan* which he made to the husband of the lady. Once when the Sultan fell ill it was Sheri Bhat who cured him. What remuneration would he not get from the Sultan but the pious physician got the Jazia tax abolished in favour of his community. Two centuries later an English physician obtained a *firman* from Jahangir allowing the English a foothold on the Indian port to carry on trade. The octroi post called 'Sheri Bhatun Guzar' near about Vicharnag, probably commemorates his name. Zain-ul-Abdin was the first monarch who introduced papier mâché, carpet making, paper making, apples and pears in Kashmir. In war he was indefatigable. He conquered Tibet and the Punjab and spread his kingdom from Peshawar to Sirhind.¹ The Chaks set fire to Zaina Dab but they were flogged and driven back to the country of the Dards. Pandu Chak, a feudal lord, was shown much favour. Tradition says that a Hindu spirit had entered into his body which moved his feelings towards the Hindus.² Over and above he was just and merciful, but the civil war among his sons made his last days restless.

Zaina-ul-Abdin read Yogavashishta. 'The king administered punishment and reward to his subjects with due regard to their merits and watched over them with care as the husbandman watches over the crop, supplying water or keeping the field dry as may seem suitable'. Tilkacharya (a Buddhist) was his Prime Minister, Suyabhatta was Chief Justice and Darayabhan, Home Minister. He himself wrote a treatise on fireworks.

In his time lived Jonaraja and Srinara, the historians, Karpurabhatta, the physician, Ruppabhatta, the astronomer, Rāmananda, the commentator and Yudhanbhatta, the Vedantist.

Tsakadar, Karala, Avantipur, Shahkul, Lachmakul are among the other canals that he laid out. Silk worms were imported from

* There is no doubt about the fact that the Hindus of that time were more religious minded and spiritually disposed. It is said that faith can move mountains.

¹ The Raja of Tibet sent a pair of birds caught on the Lake of Mansarowar. They were excessively beautiful and possessed the extraordinary faculty of separating particles of milk from water if they were mixed, after which they used to drink each separately. Badshah had an army of one lakh infantry and 30,000 cavalry.

² Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin khima dar khulde barin—Benur shud tajo nagin behur shud arzo sama—

As bahri tarikhash syan ba sar shudah andar jahan-adlo karam ilm o'alam jah o hasham sulh o safa.

Khurasan. Fire-arms were introduced in 1466. Among his conquests are also included Sind and Tibet.

Zain-ul-Abidin was a great lover of music and other fine arts. He always made generous allowances to musicians. Hearing of the Sultan's generosity and of his love for music a good many masters in this art flocked to Kashmir from all directions. One of such artists was Mulla Udi of Khorasan. He played on Ud to the great delight of the Sultan and his courtiers. Another master was Mulla Jamal who was a great expert in vocal music. Srivara, the author of the *Zaina Rajatarangini*, was also an accomplished musician and he used to entertain the king often and the latter would always reward him for his fine performances. The Raja of Gwalior hearing of the Sultan's taste for music sent him all the standard books on Indian music, including the *Sangitchudamani*. Gwalior has been the centre of this art and proud of its associations with Tan Sen. It was thus indeed due to Zain-ul-Abidin that music reached the pitch of excellence in Kashmir.

The sultan also reintroduced the art of drama and dancing which had suffered due to the puritanism of Sikandar. Many actors and dancers, both male and female, came to Kashmir at his invitation and the king held special festivals for their performances. Srivara gives a graphic description of a stage performance during the spring festival which was graced by the Sultan with his presence. Writes he:

'The spectators and the singers knew literature, rhetoric and philosophy and appreciated merit. Young women, proficient in music, possessed of a sweet voice, and with a genuine ardour for singing, graced the place. The men were learned and dignified, and fond of enjoyment and they displayed their taste and their intelligence on the stage. The renowned Tara and the actors sang various songs to the dance tune and to every kind of music. And the songstress, Utsava, who was even like Cupid's arrow, charming to the eyes and proficient in dance, both swift and slow, entranced everybody. The actresses, who displayed the forty-nine different emotions seemed even like the ascending and descending notes of music personified. . . . The scene was indeed beautiful, the songs of the actresses were like the voice of the *kokila*, the stage was like a garden where the lamps on it looked like rows of the *champaka* flower and around them were men intoxicated with music, like bees around flowers Rows of lamps surrounded the king as if they were garlands of golden lotuses round him'.

Tarikh-i-Rashidi:

'In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are in most cities uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-making, window-cutting, gold-beating etc. In the whole Maver-ul-Nahr (the country beyond the river Oxus, i.e., Khorasan) except in

Samarqand and Bukhara, these are nowhere to be met with while in Kashmir they are even abundant. This is all due to Zain-ul-Abidin'.

Writes Srivara:

'Even women, cooks and porters were poets; and the books composed by them exist to the day in every house. If the king be a sea of learning and partial to merit, the people too become so. The meritorious king Zain-ul-Abidin for the purpose of earning merit built extensive lodging houses for students and the voices of students studying logic and grammar arose from these houses. The king helped the students by providing teachers, books, houses, food and money and he extended the limits of learning in all branches. Even the families which never dreamt of learning produced men who, through the favour of the king, became known for their erudition . . . There was not a branch of learning or arts or literature or fine arts which were not studied'.

The poet chronicled the year of his demise in this feelingly rendered Persian stanza:

*Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin khima dar Khulde-barin
Be nur shud taj o nagin be nur shud aroze sama
Az bahri tarikash 'ayan be sar shulah ander jahan
'Adlo karam' ilm o 'alam jah o hasham sulh o safa.*

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin went to dwell in heaven—

The crown and the seal became lustreless, the earth and the sky became gloomy,

From that date evidently headless became in the world:

Justice and generosity; learning and power; glory and pomp; peace and tolerance.

Hazi Khan *alias* Haidar Shah (1474-1475 A.D.) was a drunkard. He persecuted the Hindus and desecrated their temples. Then followed Hassan Shah (1475-1487 A.D.). He did not trouble the Hindus very much. Having routed his uncle Bairam Khan, he attempted an invasion of Delhi at the instigation of the Raja of Jammu but Tartar Khan, the Delhi Governor, defeated the combined troops of Jammu and Kashmir. Fateh Shah came to the throne in 1489 A.D. He converted 24,000 Brahmin families into Islam. Whether it was by force or persuasion it is difficult to ascertain. Nature also applied her wrath against the Hindus. Nine thousand Hindus died on their way to Haramukh Ganga. The place where they perished is called Hap Radan (dead defile)*. The whole period from 1493 to 1554 A.D. is covered by wars of successions.

* Az biyaban Kashida sar tarikh.

Ghul Gufta—'Tabahiye Panditan'.

'Having lifted its head from the desert the date was said by the will-o'-the-wisp destruction of the Pandits'.

Disorder was rampant everywhere. Two comets appeared in Kashmir in the year 1533 during Mohammad Shah's reign. The appearance of a comet is an evil omen.

Bigotry on either side did impede progress but the fusion of two cultures and civilisations resulted in the reaction of a national spirit that is writ large on the forehead of Kashmiri today who still holds the torch, in spite of caste or creed.

Mohammad Shah and Fatch Shah were at war with each other and each set fire to the city, simply for this that either of the two might have the consolation that his opponent would find it a waste if he ultimately succeeded to take it. In 1532 Humayun's brother, Kamaran Mirza, invaded Kashmir but was repulsed with loss.

Kashmir was at one time divided into three principalities, Nazuk Shah (1540-1551 A.D.) being pageant king over all. The death by conspirators of Mirza Haidar in 1550 is also mentioned.

A great earthquake in Kashmir destroyed the town of Jadra with most of its inhabitants (6,000 souls) which changed the course of the river Jhelum at Dumpora (1554).

Sultan Haider invited Humayun to become king. The army refused and Humayun returned to Kabul.

CHAPTER VII

CHAKS (1554-1586 A.D.)

The Chaks were unknown people. They came from the country of the Dards and resembled Marhattas. During Raja Simhadev's reign, as mentioned earlier, there lived a certain Lankar Chak who secured a job in the king's service. With the advance of time his clan grew in number and influence. The first Chak is said to have been born of a Kashmiri woman and an amorous demon. The lively pools of Trigam were their frequent haunts. 'Raman Kan' are the arrows aimed by gods at them. There are other stories equally fantastic current about them in folklore. The Chaks were Shias. Ghazi Khan* (1554 A.D.) was the first ruler. He was a descendant of Lankar Chak. He converted a number of Hindus to Shia religion. About seven rulers of this line ruled upon the throne of Kashmir. They were petty kings, one and all, except one of them who founded Gulmarg† and another, Hassan Chak, gave his daughter in marriage to Saleem, the future Jehangir. Akbar sent a huge army against the Chaks under the command of Mirza Kazim (the first invasion came under Raja Bhagwandas). He came through Rajouri and defeated the Chaks in 1586 A.D. Below is given a table showing the line of succession:

Ghazi Chak	... 1554-1563 A.D.
Hassan Shah ¹	... 1563-1570 A.D.
Ali Shah ²	... 1570-1579 A.D.

* Ghazi Khan and his party having overcome in the contest with Daulat Chak, deposed Ibrahim Khan of Kashmir, blinded him and put his brother Ismail on the throne. Daulat Chak was seized and his eyes put out by Ghazi Khan in 1555 A.D.

† Gulmarg used to be called Gaurimarga or the meadow of Gauri, wife of Shiva. Yusaf Shah who used to visit the place during the hot season changed its name into Gulmarg (flowery meadow).

¹ Ghazi Chak abdicated in favour of his brother, Hassan Shah, but repenting collected a force to dethrone him. This being dispersed without an action, the old king was compelled to retreat to Zainpur (1563).

Khannuz Zaman, the Prime Minister, attacked the palace. His scheme for sovereignty being frustrated, he was subsequently executed in 1565.

The king blinded his nephew and rival Ahmad Khan in 1566. Feuds arose in Kashmir between the Hanfia and Shia sects in 1568. Akbar sent an embassy to Kashmir, but executed the ambassadors on their return for instigating the murder of a certain holy man. He also refused to marry the daughter of the king who soon after died of grief in 1569.

² The king received an embassy from Delhi and proclaimed Akbar, Emperor of Kashmir, in 1572.

Yusaf Shah ¹	...	1579-1580 A.D.*
Sayed Mubarak Khan	...	1580 six months and two days.
Lohar Shah	...	1580-1581 A.D.
Yusaf Shah ²	...	1581-1585 A.D.
Yakub Shah ³	...	1585-1586 A.D.

Internecine wars were a special feature of this period which covers about one-third of the century. None of these kings attempted any constructive programme. The Chaks would employ any means, fair and foul, to get revenue. What they had inherited they delivered to the great Moghul. The fall of the Dynasty was in glorious indeed and it eclipsed their meteoric rise to power. Magre and Tsak, the former natives and the latter domiciled foreigners, made a bid for power until the coming of the Moghuls.

The only thing they could do was to allow Shias to gain some influence. People as a whole remained as backward as before. With the Chaks, however, closed the independence of Kashmir. Even Kashmir prevented subjugation of the country by Tuglaqs. According to Abul Fazal it is inside causes that brought success to Akbar, denied even to Babar and Humayun. Lalitaditya had warned Kashmir rulers against raising troops from a single district.

¹ Ali Shah was killed by a fall from his horse. His son, Yusaf Shah, fled to Hindustan on account of revolts (1578). Akbar sent a force to re-establish the king on the throne of Kashmir. Lohar Chak, the rival ruler, was blinded (1579). Certain nobles became disaffected, assembled in Tibet and marched on Kashmir but were seized and the leaders mutilated (1580).

² Yusaf Shah, hearing of a proposed visit of Akbar, according to Ferishta, wished to escort him to Kashmir but was prevented by his nobles. He was given a small Jagir in Bihar. Akbar deputed a force to conquer the country. Haidar Chak was defeated—1584.

³ Akbar sent another force to which the king submitted. He was enrolled among Akbar's nobles and Kashmir became a province of the Moghul Empire. The king's father was detained at Delhi—1586.

* Yusaf Shah and Habba Khatun's love romance is a poetic episode in the romantic literature of Kashmir. It was at her suggestion that he founded centres of learning. Habba Khatun was a peasant girl who later became queen. Her tomb is still at Pandrethan. In 1951 Kashmir paid a glowing tribute to her memory.

CHAPTER VIII

MOGHULS

The Muslims of India had grown ineffective. The Empire of Delhi had disappeared. The king's writ was no longer supreme. It was the time of the little princes, the *Tawaif-ul-Muluk*. Babar who had failed in his native home came to India and founded a kingdom. To Kashmir he sent his sepoys in 1494 A.D. (according to one account) but they appear on the pages of Kashmir's history as meteors who flash across the darkness of the night and are gone. Mirza Haider of Auritapa and Sikandar Khan of Kashghar (1532 A.D.) are also said to have invaded Kashmir but could not secure a footing*. Humayun also tried his luck but did not succeed. At last the throne of Kashmir lapsed to Akbar in 1585 A.D. A deputation from Kashmir submitted a petition to Akbar which included an invitation to him. Kashmir had grown tired of misrule. A pact was signed.

- (a) That the king shall not interfere with the religious affairs, the purchase and sale of goods and the rates of food grains and cereals.
- (b) That the Officers of the Government shall have no male or female Kashmiri as a slave.
- (c) That the inhabitants of Kashmir shall not be molested in any way.
- (d) That the nobles of Kashmir having been a source of mischief in the past shall have no share in the administration of the country.

Akbar, the Guardian of Mankind (1556-1605 A.D.), was a contemporary of 'Queen Bess' of England. After centuries of unrest and oppression he restored peace to the country. His is the noblest figure among Muslim monarchs who ever shone on the throne of India†. He built the Hari Parbat Fort and the city of Nagar inside the huge wall that runs round Hari Parbat. Akbar brought his Finance Minister named Raja Todar Mal with him to Kashmir. He fixed his camp at Pattan, measured the whole land and settled the revenue.

* Kashmir had been attacked from the side of Ladakh by Mirza Haider 1541-51 A.D. (the author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*) in 1532 and again invaded from the south in 1540, and ruled by him (nominally on behalf of Emperor Humayun) until his death eleven years later—*Imperial Gazetteer*.

† Even such an Emperor as Akbar does not eclipse the sweet memory of Zain-ul-Abidin in the annals of Kashmir. According to Lt. Newal, Akbar introduced *pheron* and *kangri* to make people effeminate. He visited Kashmir in 1588 and 1596.

The labourers* who were employed in the construction of the new city were paid at the rate of six annas a day if married and four annas if unmarried. Akbar† maintained an army of 4,822 cavalry and 92,400 infantry. He visited the country three times. In his time Kashmir yielded a revenue of about one crore.¹ Akbar was a man of great energy and constant occupation, capable of immense and prolonged effort and fond of all manly exercises. On a campaign he was indefatigable. Himself a great thinker he also respected the sentiments of others. He abolished Jazia and other abominable taxes imposed by the Muslim sovereigns upon their Hindu subjects and gave high posts to the Hindus.

There is a mention that Mohammad Hussain of Kashmir, a great literary figure, adorned Akbar's magnificent court. In his time *Rajtarangini* was translated by Mohammad Shahab-ud-Din and named *Ranza-e-Tahirin*.

Akbar was succeeded by Jehangir, the great Moghul (1605-1627 A.D.). He was a prince of luxurious taste. He built Shalimar, Chashma Shahi, Naseem and Verinag which stand to this day. He considered it bad taste to stretch a carpet on the green ground of the Valley. But he abandoned himself to voluptuous ease, to 'Wein, Weib, Und

*The number amounted to about thirty thousand porters or coolies. This anecdote shows that marriage was officially encouraged then and wages were paid to labour on socialistic basis, more or less. The author of 'Ayeen Akbary' writes; 'His Majesty has made three journeys to Cashmere via Pirpanchal. If an ox or a horse be killed upon these mountains there immediately ensues a tempest with snow and rain. Although Cashmere is populous and money scarce, yet a thief or beggar is scarcely known amongst them. The inhabitants chiefly live upon rice, fish and vegetables, and they drink wine. In their cities and towns there are neither snakes, scorpions nor other venomous reptiles. Here is a mountain called Mahadev, and every place from whence it can be seen is free from snakes but the country in general abounds with flies, gnats, bugs and lice. The Cashmerians have a language of their own but their books are written in the Sanskrit tongue although the character be sometimes Cashmerian (usually Devnagari). They write chiefly upon Tooz (Bharjapatra) which is the bark of a tree. Formerly they knew only the Hindu sciences but now they study those of other nations. The most respectable people of this country are the Reshees (Rishi) who revile not any other sect and ask nothing of any one. They abstain from flesh and have no intercourse with other sex. The Hindus regard all Cashmere as a holy land. The revenue was 74,67,00,411 Dams. (Khirwar—29 Dams) out of which 9,01,663 Khirwars and ■ tracks were paid in money and were equivalent to 1,20,22,183 Dams. The revenue fixed by Asaf Khan is 30,79,543 Khirwars out of which 10,15,330 1/2 Khirwars are in money. The army consists of 4,892 cavalry and 92,400 infantry. The eastern division is known as Maraj and the western division as Kamraj'.

† Akbar called Kashmir his private garden.

¹ This is doubtful.

Gesang'. Well goes the saying. 'He that diggeth a well, he that buildeth a fountain and he that planteth a tree is pleasing to the everlasting'. Jehangir was a just monarch and the 'fabled bell' verily belongs to him. Death overtook him on his way to Delhi. When Jehangir was dying he was asked if he wanted anything. He replied 'Kashmir'.¹

*Az Shah-i-Jehangir dam naza chu justand
Ba khwahish-i-dil guft ki Kashmir digar hech.*

History records that the Raja of Kishtwar was brought to his knees in 1620 A.D. by Jehangir's armies.

Once the Hindus of Kashmir complained against (Qulich) Kublah Khan (1606-1609 A.D.) to Emperor Jehangir*. He sent to him a warning in the following words in Persian:

'Hakumat Panaha, Dadkhwahani tu bisyar,
shukrguzarani tu kam, abi sabah bar labi
tashnagan bire warnah as hukumat barkhes'.

'O protector of administration; thy complainants are many thy thanksgivers are few, pour cold water on the lips of the thirsty, or else get away from the administration'. The Governor was dismissed for not heeding the warning.

Some maintain that Ahmad Beg Khan, the Governor, was an evil star for Kashmir (1615-1618 A.D.).

Shah Jahan, the Magnificent (1627-1658 A.D.), was made of the same mettle as his father. He added immensely to his father's grandeur. The Moghuls were Muslims of a noble breed. There are many instances to show how just and also how tolerant they were towards other faiths. 'He ruled from the Peacock Throne and spread hands of command from Balkh to Himalaya'. Shah Jahan also visited Kashmir many times.†

Zaffar Khan (1630-1640 A.D.) abolished many taxes such as tax on saffron, tax on wood and poll-tax on sheep and boatmen. Ali Mardan Khan (1642 A.D.) was credited with the possession of the philosopher's stone with whose help he built-up sarais on the Pir Panchal route.² It was during his time that Muslims, headed by one fanatic Khawaja Mam, set fire to Pandit Mahadev's house and also slew a large number of Brahmins. When this report reached the Emperor

¹ He sang—

Agar firdaus bar rue zamin ast,
Hamin ast o hamin ast o hamin ast.

* Francisco Pelsaert of Antwerp gives a sorry picture of Kashmir during his reign.

† He recited the following couplet:

Khurd gandom adam as jounal Kashidaudash birum,
Mau ki khurdam ash-i-jau yarab be kashmiran rasan.

² It was only a foot path then.

Shah Jahan he was very much incensed and the offenders were punished. An expedition was appointed during Ali Mardan Khan's time (1650-1657 A.D.) to proceed from Kashmir to Tibet to subdue a rebel, Mirza Jam, and to capture Fort Skardu. Tibet was annexed to the Delhi Empire on August 15, 1651.

Writes Mr M. R. Qanugo in the *Journal of Indian History* for April 1929:

'In Kashmir, Shah Jahan changed the Hindu names of places into Islamic and destroyed some Hindu shrines. In the month of Rabi-Ussani, A.H. 1044, when the Imperial standard reached the neighbourhood of Bhimber Pass at the foot of the Kashmir hills, His Majesty learnt that the Muslims of this place, owing to their primitive ignorance, gave their own daughters in marriage to the Hindus and also took wives from them. There was an understanding that Hindu women married by Muslims were to be buried and Muslim girls married by Hindus to be burnt according to Hindu custom after death. The Emperor as the protector of the Faith ordered that the Hindus who married Muslim women must be compelled either to renounce infidelity or to part with their Muslim wives. Jagu, a Zamindar of these parts from whom these despicable customs had originated, through the Grace of God and out of fear, at the desire of His Majesty, with all his kinsmen accepted Islam and was honoured with the title of Raja Daulatmand'. Even as it is, it looks incompatible with Moghul sense of justice.

Aurangzeb, the Man of no Tastes (1658-1707 A.D.), undid what his father had done. He was a contemporary of Charles II, James II and William III*. George Foster who visited Kashmir in 1783 A.D. talks much of the atrocities committed by Aurangzeb. He says that the Emperor extracted three and a half lakhs of rupees and the Governor who collected this sum took twenty lakhs for himself. It is possible that a Governor on the spot did things which were not approved by the Emperor and often it proved so¹.

While Aurangzeb was reigning in Delhi, a sage named Pir Pandit Padshah† (so says the tradition) had fascinated people here. The Emperor was alarmed at this. He summoned him to his court. The Pir's spirit went to the court through air and appeared before him in a terrible form mounted on a lion. The Emperor was horrified and Pir Pandit was no more annoyed². Aurangzeb visited Kashmir

* There are different versions available about Aurangzeb which simply baffle the student. He was indeed religious minded and he did not harbour good feelings about those who did not profess his faith. According to others he did only what his conscience dictated him to do.

† Some writers maintain that Rishi Pir Pandit lived in the time of Jehangir.

¹ *Lalla Rookh* by Thomas Moore was published in 1817. It is an account of journey of Aurangzeb's daughter from Delhi to Kashmir where she was to be married to the young King of Bucharia.

² This is only a tale and cannot, therefore, be taken as historically true because no historian has mentioned it.

once in the year 1663. Three thousand coolies were employed from Bhimber to Kashmir and they received ten crowns for every hundred pounds of weight they carried.

Saif Khan (1664-1667 A.D.) introduced innovations in the form of new exactions such as (a) assessing the revenue by the actual measurement of land in place of the old practice of making a rough eye-estimate based on guess, (b) taxing the people to make good any loss or damage to things from the province ordered by the Emperor (Casuri-i-farmaith), and (c) change in or deduct from men's salaries due.

During his second viceroyalty he promoted agriculture by planting colonies and building a city. Mubarez Khan (1667-68 A.D.) was a good natured but indolent man and his Uzbek retainers shamelessly oppressed and ill-treated the people, wounding and killing all who resisted them. Muzaffar Khan (1690-1692) and his brother, Abu Nasar Khan (1692-1698 A.D.), both sons of Shaista Khan, enriched themselves by levying illegal cesses, in addition to realising their legitimate fees with the utmost rigour. Fazal Khan (1698-1701 A.D.) in addition to being a patron of scholars and holy men, built many mosques, schools, pavilions, sarais, embankments and gardens etc. He was the first to introduce the Kashmiris to the Emperor's service and he also remitted many cesses of former times such as *hasil-i-ghaluk* (tax on earthen jars), *nimak* (salt duty) and *damdari* (tax on bird catcher). During Ibrahim Khan's viceroyalty (1701-1706 A.D.) there occurred a civil war between the Shias and the Sunnis. Aurangzeb on hearing of these occurrences removed Ibrahim Khan from viceroyalty and ordered the Sunni captives to be released. Iftikhar Khan (1671-1675) won a lot of notoriety by unnecessarily torturing Hindus and the following account will throw light on his policy*.

* The following is briefly the account recorded in Gurmukhi in the *Guru Khalsa Twarikh* by Bhai Gyan Singh Gyani in its Part III, page 1854, and also in the same language in the *Suraj Parkash* by Bhai Santosh Singh Gyani (in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh) in its Part I, Chapter X.

'Under the commands of Aurangzeb, Iftikhar Khan was using torture towards the Pandits in Kashmir and was forcibly converting them to Islam. He also used to seize pretty Panditani girls and made them over as gifts to the Musalmans for their harems. Some pious men from amongst the Pandits then decided to go to Amar Nath and invoke mercy of Shiva for deliverance from the tyrannies of this bigot. At the Amar Nath Cave one of the Pandits saw Shiva in a dream, who told him to go to Teg Bahadur, the Ninth Sikh Guru, in the Puniab and ask for his help to save the Hindu religion. He spoke to his companions about this revelation. About 500 Pandits collected and proceeded to Amritsar and thence to Anandpur where Guru Teg Bahadur was living. They told him about the terrible atrocities committed on them by Aurangzeb's Governor, Iftikhar Khan, in Kashmir. The Guru was deeply touched on hearing the details and was in a sorry and pensive mood. At that time his son Guru Govind Singh who was then a child of nine years of age and was playing outside, came to him. He saw a crowd of Pandits sitting there in distress and

The long roll of natural calamities during the half century of Aurangzeb's reign includes two earthquakes (1669 and 1682), two conflagrations of the capital (1672 and 1676), one flood (1682) and a famine 1688). The conquest of Greater Tibet whose ruler, styled Daladal Mamjal in the Persian chronicles, bowed to Islam, caused coins to be struck and the Khutba read in the Emperor's name and built a mosque in his capital (1666). In 1683 when the Black Qalmaqas

his father mute as a fish. Guru Teg Bahadur pointing towards the Pandits, told his son mournfully that these Hindus were being forced to renounce their religion and he thought they could be protected if some holy man offered himself to be sacrificed for them. Guru Govind Singh with folded hands said to him 'Father, who else is a holier man, fit for being sacrificed than yourself for saving Hindu religion? It is, you know, the foremost duty of a Kshatriya to give his head for rescuing the cow and the Brahmin'. Guru Teg Bahadur told him, 'I have absolutely no hesitation in giving my head but I am grieving that as you are a child of nine years only, who would take care of you after me? Guru Govind Singh replied earnestly. 'Almighty God would take care of me'. Guru Teg Bahadur was pleased to hear this courageous answer from his worthy son and then advised the crowd of Pandits to go to Aurangzeb and tell him straight-way that they, together with all the Brahmins in Kashmir, were quite ready to embrace Islam if Teg Bahadur, who was the Chief Guru of the Hindus, would first be converted. The Pandits went to Nawab Zalim Khan, the then Governor of Lahore, and presented to him their petition which had been dictated by Guru Teg Bahadur. The Governor gladly endorsed it and gave it back to the Pandits for presenting it to the Emperor at Delhi. He gave them all necessary help for reaching the place of safety. They went and presented the petition to Aurangzeb. The Emperor was highly gratified to read it, as he thought that the mere conversion of one man would automatically accomplish his design. He called the Qazis and Maulvis in a Durbar and joyfully announced the contents of the petition to them. Of course, they all received the tidings with acclamation. He told the Pandits that he cheerfully accepted the condition laid. He sent them back to Kashmir, making suitable arrangements for their return journey. He wrote to Iftikhar Khan, Governor of Kashmir, to desist from forcible proselytising for, he said, he was now satisfied that no more force was needed for attaining the object in view.

'Aurangzeb sent a letter by an official to Guru Teg Bahadur at Anandpur, inviting him to come to Delhi. Before the Imperial Officer reached him, the Guru, accompanied by five attendants, started for Agra on 11th Har, 1732 (24th June, 1675 A.D.). At Agra he was arrested by the Kotwal there and sent to the Emperor at Delhi on 1st Maghar, 1732 (15th November, 1675 A.D.). He had an interview with the Emperor. The latter pressingly solicited to him to embrace Islam. The Guru had words with him roaring emphatically that he spurned the idea. The Emperor, thereupon, being off the hooks, wrinkled his brows and ferociously ordered the executioner to take the Guru to a place to be beheaded there. While being taken to be put to death, the Guru quietly told one of his five attendants, Bhai Jita, that after he was beheaded, he should take away his head to Guru Gobind Singh. On 13th Maghar, 1732

invaded his country he begged the aid of his Suzerain. An Imperial force sent from Kabul under Fidai Khan (the son of the Kashmir Subedar Ibrahim Khan) drove the Qalmaq out, re-installed the Lama and returned in triumph with much booty*.

Bernier visited Kashmir in 1664. He says that *Begari* rate was Rs 20 per 100 lb. weight. Elsewhere he writes: 'The people of Kashmir are proverbial for their complexions and fine forms. They are well made as the Europeans. The women especially are very handsome and it is from this country that nearly every individual when first admitted to the court of the Great Moghul, selects wives or concubines that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Moghuls'.

The interval upto 1753 A.D. does not look very important. The Moghul prestige deteriorated gradually during Aurangzeb's successors. In 1720 A.D. Mulla Abdul Nabi *alias* Mulla Khan† who was the Sheikh-ul-Islam of Kashmir, gave instructions to the then Governor, Mir Ahmad Khan, to treat the Hindus harshly but the honest Governor refused. Mulla Khan then excited the Mohammedans against the Hindus. Mulla Khan was later on beheaded by one Sayid Azhar Khan in a Shia's house which resulted in the massacre of the Shias also at the hands of Sunnis. Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din succeeded his father as Sheikh-ul-Islam.

Abdul Samad, the fifth Governor, came from Lahore with huge army in 1722 A.D. He put Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din to death and in one excursion from Naid Kadal to Khwaja Yarbali he got about fifty rebels executed. He removed all the restrictions that were placed on the Hindus. There was justice again in the land and the poet sang:

Haka an Samad phutrum zin,
Na rud kuni Sharaf na rud kuni Din.

(27th November, 1675 A.D.) Guru Teg Bahadur was beheaded. Bhai Jita stealthily took away his head. When he neared Anandpur, Guru Gobind Singh went forth to meet him and, bowing reverently, received his father's head. In the turban bound round the head was found a paper with the following words written thereon:

'*Sari-khud dadam magar sar-i-Khuda na dadam*' meaning that he had given his head but not God's secret (i.e. religion). The head, which wore the glorious crown of martyrdom, was duly cremated. Guru Gobind Singh being intensely grieved at the ferocity of Aurangzeb in killing his innocent father, took a solemn vow to avenge his death by taking to arms and embarking on a crusade to free the country from the Muslims'. It is this canker which free India is killing.

* This normal conquest of Greater Tibet was a great achievement for Aurangzeb.

† Mulla Khan and Mir Ahmad Khan following a common faith are nevertheless contrasts.

'Samad (horse) came swiftly; there remained neither Sharaf (cardinalship) nor Din (bigotry) anywhere'.

During the Governorship of Abdul Samad Khan (1720-1723 A.D.) anti-Hindu disturbances broke out in Kashmir, instigated by Mahbub Khan, 'Abdul Nabi', which ended in riot and pillage and in which Mahbub and others were killed (1720 A.D.).

Abdul Barakh Khan was at war with his officials. Each party set fire to the city which resulted in the destruction of 20,000 houses. This happened in Dil Diler Khan's time (1735-1738 A.D.).

Fakhr-ud-Duala was deputed by Nadir Shah as Governor of Kashmir but Ati Ullah Khan (1739-1741 A.D.) supported by his councillors opposed him destroying 15,000 houses of the city and suburbs.

It is recorded in an account that seven hundred and seventy gardens were laid out by the Moghuls in Kashmir alone. There is no doubt that they beautified every spot that came to their notice and Kashmir reacted very well to their feelings. They did not only love nature, they had a fine sense of art. Their route to Kashmir was Gujrat—Bhimber—Shopian.

Ab-ul-Fazal writes: 'But the bane of this country is its people. Yet, strange to say, notwithstanding its numerous population and the scantiness of the means of subsistence, thieving and begging are rare. They are artificers of various kinds who might be deservedly employed in the greatest cities. Although Kashmir has a dialect of its own their learned books are in the Sanskrit language. They have a separate character which they use for mss. work and they write chiefly on *tux* which is the bark of a tree. The majority of the narrow minded conservatives, of blind traditions, are Sunnis. The most respectable class in this country is that of Brahmins who notwithstanding their need of freedom from the hands of tradition and custom are true worshippers of God. They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against those not of their faith, nor beg nor importune. Saffron is also cultivated in Paraspur. Although 1/3 had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares are actually taken which has been reduced now to 1/2. The revenue amounted to 7 crores 46 lakhs—70,411 dams—(Rupees 18,66,766-4-5)'.

CHAPTER IX

AFGHANS

The Afghans came in 1753 A.D. under the leadership of Ahmad Shah Durani.* Once again Kashmir fell from the frying pan into the fire and became subject to the tyrannical rule. This period, says Lawrence, was a time of brutal tyranny, unrelieved by good work of chivalry or honour. The whole period was a period of cruel reign and anarchy. Flagrant tyranny was common everywhere.† About twenty-eight Governors ruled upon the throne of Kashmir. Raja Sukh Jiwan became Governor in 1754 A.D. and it was during his reign that the Hindus enjoyed some respite. He was defeated by Nurud-Din Khan Bamzai in 1762 A.D.

Lal Mohammad Khan (1766 A.D.) persecuted the Hindus against all canons of chivalry. Khoram Khan was an unbiased Governor. He treated the Hindus well.

Mir Faqir Ullah Kant (1767 A.D.) took into his head that since his father was killed and possibly at the hands of a Hindu he should take a heavy toll. Naturally he killed some and converted many to Islam. Khoram Khan (1770-71 A.D.) second time quelled a rebellion which had occurred in Kashmir. Haji Karim Dad Khan (1776-83 A.D.) punished the entire Kant family for intriguing against him with Raja Ranjit Dev, the Raja of Jammu.

Azad Khan (1782-85 A.D.) invaded Poonch with his troops which he plundered for a week. He was succeeded by Madad Khan (1785-86 A.D.) and there is a well-known proverb 'Zulmi-Azad ra rasid Madad' which means that Madad out-heroded Azad. In those days any Muslim who met a Hindu would say to him 'Butta chhuk to khosa dita' (you are a Pandit and I will mount you)¹. In the time of Abdul Ullah Khan (1796-1807), Shah Shuja of Afghanistan marched to Peshawar for the conquest of Kashmir but he was recalled by Barukhazai rebellions—1805.

'At this time no less than 2,000,800 Rupees are extracted by the Afghan Governor, who, if his tribute be regularly remitted to court,

* As under the imperious Duchess in 'Alice in Wonderland', the standing order of the day was 'off with their heads'.

† The nobles of Kashmir wrote to Ahmad Shah in 1747 to annex Kashmir. Whenever Kashmir was conquered by an outsider it was with the connivance of the people otherwise not. Mir Muqim Kant and Mahanand Pandit Dhar were the leaders who personally went to Lahore and sought intervention.

¹ This looks an exaggeration but Muslim writers have also admitted these atrocities.

is allowed to execute with impunity every act of violence. This extreme rigour has sensibly affected the deportment of the Kashmirians, who shrink with dread from the Afghan oppression and are fearful of making any display of opulence. During my stay in Kashmir I often witnessed the harsh treatment which the common people received at the hands of their masters who rarely issued an order without a blow of the side of their hatchet, a common weapon of the Afghans and used by them in war as a battle-axe'.

A Hindu named Dila Ram Kuli won favour of Haji Karimdad Khan and was appointed Dewan. Pandit Nand Ram Tikū, a renowned Kashmiri Pandit, became Prime-Minister of Kabul during the Governorship of Mir Hazar Khan (1793-94 A.D.). For some time his name also appeared on the coins issued from Kabul. Zairam Bhan, a poor but sagacious Pandit, rose to the position of Dewan (under Nasir-ud-Mohammad). Abdullah Khan is said to have amassed one crore of rupees within six months of his Governorship which he took to Kabul. However bad the times were, the Hindus did exhibit their worth to the world and that under the patronage of their masters.¹

On many an occasion the Kashmir Pandits have migrated in batches during the period 12th to 18th century. It took them days to reach Batwat-route of the Pandits (Batote) where they divided, some went to Kishtwar and Bhadarwah, some to Poonch and Rajouri and some to Lahore and Amritsar and from there onwards. Those who went to Kishtwar and Bhadarwah merged with the local people retaining only the caste name in some cases. The culture they had inherited vanished in course of generations. Those who went to Lahore and Amritsar adapted to modern civilisation and retained their culture also. It is there that *dejharo* (a gold ornament, symbolic of marriage) is still worn by women, that *zuj* (part of head gear) is still worn by brides and that *pann* (wheat festival in autumn) is still observed by the Pandits.

What is desirable to know is who went where and when. Such research and collection of data will enrich history as Kashmiri Pandit is inseparable from Kashmir.

The curse of this period was that the Governors were not faithful to their masters. They always remained on the look-out to seize an opportunity when they would declare themselves independent. The

¹ During the Muslim rule, Hindus as a community, had lost all political influence and consequently lived a very humble life. They adopted Muslim habits and customs. They read and taught Persian. The Persian culture penetrated their houses also. They would name their Drawing room 'Dewan e-Khas' etc. But in spite of this adaptation they did not give up their social customs nor religious rites. At one time they were reduced to eleven families only. They could not be revived after six or seven hundred years.

result was that few constructive measures were contemplated and fewer still carried out: Says the poet:

Khwaṣṭ haq kin Zamin-i-minarang
 Chun dilai nai shawad ba Afghan rang
 Kard bar wai musallat Afghan ra
 Bagha Jamshed dad dewan ra.

'God willed that this paradise like land should
 become miserable like the heart of (Hukka) Pipe
 with Afghan (or gurgling noise)
 caused Afghans to overrun it
 gave away the garden of Jamshed to demon'.

This is another aspect of Afghan character. Even the so-called heretic in their eyes could rise to the highest rung of the ladder. According to Dr Sufi, Moghuls and Pathans discountenanced military service for Kashmiris. Elsewhere he says that Brahmins, Shias and the Bamhas were not treated properly (*Kashir*—677-699). They sometimes cut off heads for plucking flowers.

'Sar Buredan pesh in sangreen dilan gul chidan ast'.

CHAPTER X

SIKHS

Abdul Ullah Khan (1796-1807 A.D.) was defeated by Sher Mohammad of Kabul at Dwabgah. The latter appointed his son Ata Mohammad Khan as Governor of Kashmir (1807-13 A.D.). Ata Mohammad imprisoned Shah Shuja and afterwards entered into a league with him. They both were defeated but let off by Sikhs on promise of an annual tribute of eight lakhs of rupees. But they outwitted Mohammad Khan and conspired with the Sikh General, Dewan Mukkam Chand.

Shah Shuja promised to surrender the famous Koh-i-Nur and Ata Mohammad the fort of Attock. He thus struck a double bargain. Wazir Fateh Mohammad Khan appointed his brother Sardar Azim Khan as Governor of Kashmir (1813-19 A.D.). He refused to pay the annual tribute and even defeated the Sikh squadron in a battle. Azim Khan went to help his brother who was engaged in a war at Qundhar, leaving Jabbar Khan (1819 A.D.) behind to rule in his place. He compelled the Hindus to celebrate the Shivratri festival in the month of Har instead of in Phagan*. This was at last a demonstration of despotism. Pandit Birbal Dhar† fled to Lahore and sought help from the Sikhs. Ranjit Singh's¹ army had made two attempts so far but had failed. The sagacious Pandit promised them success. His wife committed suicide while his daughter-in-law was seized and sent to Kabul. To avenge this insult he planned this scheme. The Sikhs came over the Pir Panchal². Their army consisted of 30,000 strong. A decisive battle was fought at Shopian in 1819 A.D. in which the Pathans were routed. Man and horse fell before the onslaught of the victorious and it almost came to a panic among the Afghans.

Ranjit Singh was a great general though illiterate. He was always ready with a short and decided reply to any report read out to him. His memory was excellent and he seldom forgot a thing. His only eye was quick and searching. He possessed acute and lively imagination. In action he was always collected. He was not without faults.

* It is inconceivable to think that there was snow fall in this month of the year, considered to be necessary for the ceremony by the orthodox Hindus as popularly believed.

† This Pandit could change the history of the country. Naturally he looms large in local annals for his intellectual feat. According to Vigne he was jailed by the Sikhs who were not favourable to him.

¹ Ranjit Singh's first invasion through Panchal Pass in 1814 had failed.

² Attacks via Tosha Maidan by Ranjit Singh and Mahmud Ghazni had failed before. It is through this route that Huien Tsang visited Poonch in 633 A.D.

In youth he was liberal while in old age he became parsimonious. Moorecroft visited Kashmir in 1822 A.D. He gives a gloomy picture of what he saw. There is no mention anywhere that Ranjit Singh ever visited Kashmir.

'On the third day after leaving Bissuli, I passed the Oju river, which rises in the mountains of Ramnagar, and afterwards joins the Ravi in the plains: and, upon arriving at the petty Sikh fort of Samur Thung, the Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Chobdar, or Silver Stick, being in attendance, I was surprised at being told by the commandant that he could not give me any *Kullis*, or otherwise assist me, without an order from the Ramnagar Rajah, Suchyt Singh. He was, in fact, an officer of Gulab Singh of Jamu, who, jealous of my passing through his country, and thinking it necessary to show his power, had adopted this plan, in order to ascertain of what rank and consequence I was, and whether I was not connected with the Govt. by trying how far the British Political Agent at Lodiana would interfere to assist and protect me'.

VIGNE

The Sikh Governors were hard and rough masters. Every shawl was taxed 26 p.c. upon the estimated value. A Kotwal had to pay Rs 30,000 for office¹.

If a Sikh killed non-Sikh he was fined from Rs 16 to Rs 20 out of which Rs 4 were paid to the survivors of the killed. Kirpa Ram (1827-31 A.D.) was nick-named 'Kirpa Shroin' (shroin being word for the sound of the boat paddle) so fond of boating he was. He is also said to have introduced crows to Kashmir thought to be necessary for the due performance of funeral rites*. In 1831 A.D. a serious famine broke out in Kashmir which caused immense loss to the country. Some people even fled to the plains. In 1843 A.D. came the Bamhas under the leadership of Sultan Zabardast Khan. He was caught and imprisoned in Srinagar. To avenge this Sher Ahmad the daring Bamha destroyed seven thousand Sikhs at Kahori and marched with 8,000 matchlocks against Kashmir and defeated Imam-ud-din with an army of 12,000 strong at Shilbal. Thereupon Zabardast Khan was delivered back. This war weakened the Sikh hold in Kashmir. In the same year Mohi ud Din opened the gates of Jamia Masjid which had been closed since 1819 A.D. The famine of 1831 A.D. was closely followed by a great flood. A big earthquake† and cholera broke out in 1827 A.D. which swept away bulk of the population.

Of the great earthquake of 1828 Vigne collected the information that:

'On the night of June 26, 1828, (Twenty-fourth of Zilheja, year of the Hegira 1244) at half past ten, a very severe shock was felt, which

¹ These statements are refuted by some writers.

* In his time the country yielded a revenue of Rs 25 lakhs.

† In Srinagar 1,200 houses were destroyed and 1,000 lives lost.

shook down a great many houses, and killed a great number of people; perhaps 1,000 persons were killed, and 1,200 houses shaken down; although, being built with a wooden framework, the houses were less liable to fall than an edifice of brick or stone. The earth opened in several places about the city; and fetid water, and rather warm, rose rapidly from the clefts, and then subsided. These clefts being in the soil, soon closed again, and left scarcely any traces. I saw the remains of one, fifteen yards long and two wide; but it was filled up, or nearly. Huge rocks and stones came rattling down from the mountains. On that night only one shock took place; but just before sunrise there was another, accompanied by a terrific and lengthened explosion, louder than a canon. On that day there were twenty such shocks, each with a similar explosion.

The inhabitants were, of course, in the open country. The river sometime appeared to stand still, and then rushed forward. For the remaining six days of Zilheja, and whole of the next two months of Moharram and 'Safur' there were never less than hundred, and sometimes two hundred or more shocks in the day, all accompanied with an explosion; but it was remarked; that when the explosion was loudest, the shock was the less . . .

'At the end of the two above mentioned months, the number decreased to ten or fifteen in the twenty-four hours, and the noise became less, and the earthquakes gradually ceased. About this time the cholera made its appearance. A census of the dead was taken at first, but discontinued when it was found that many thousands had died in twenty-one days'.

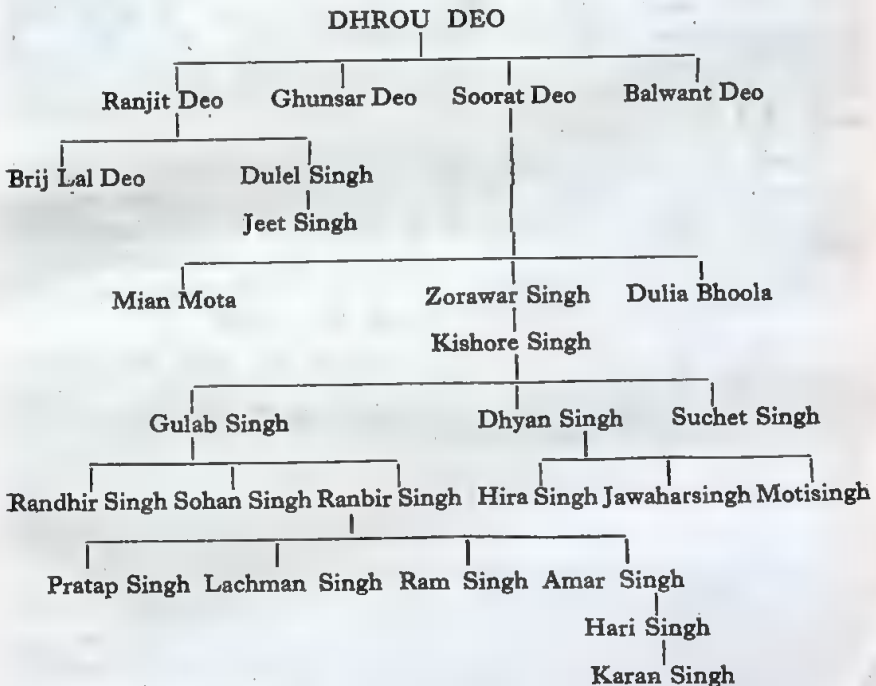
The line of Emperors who proceeded from Babar's loins are no more. The Afghans and Sikhs also have disappeared. The Muslims were, as a general rule, shortsighted people deadly opposed to time honoured institutions other than their own. Had they adopted a policy of toleration and respected the sentiments of the so-called 'heretics' they would have become objects of reverence and admiration. Sikandar and rulers of his type grew to be the bugbears of the people. This is unfortunately in nut-shell the verdict of authentic history about some Muslim rulers in Kashmir. With all this the Hindu did not give up his study, however much to penury he was reduced. He learnt the Persian tongue better than its pioneers. The Muslims sometimes appreciated the merit of Hindus. Instances have been quoted showing how the Hindus often rose to high power only through merit. Says the author of 'Emerald set with Pearls', 'These Eastern potentates had some magnificent qualities and in some cases their administration was superior to our own'. The population of Kashmir in the present day is about 17,28,705¹ and nearly 90 out of every hundred are Muslims. Nine hundred years ago there were no Muslims north of the Punjab. The Sikhs, on the other hand, were neither

¹ These figures are taken from the *Census Report of 1941*

too good nor too bad but internal dissensions among the Sirdars brought about their early fall. It is true that the people under them would have been none the better because they were only a martial class first and last with little vision to organise and to expand. In spite of about a quarter century of power in Kashmir the Sikhs did not expand beyond the valley. They were divided like the Highlanders of Scotland.

While fortunes of the country devolved on the finger of a ruler, apparently, sovereignty ultimately rested with the people. It was sometimes alliance between Kshatrias and Brahmins and Buddhists, Brahmins and Nagas and sometimes rift between Sayids and Kashmiris, Sunnis and Shias. There was no period without unrest and outsiders always came with the co-operation of Kashmiris themselves.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE DOGRA HOUSE



CHAPTER XI

DOGRAS

GULAB SINGH

Gulab Singh, the founder of the Dogra dynasty of Jammu and Kashmir, was born in 1792 (5th Katik 1849 Bikrami Samvat)*. In his early days he lived under the personal care of his grand-father Zorawar Singh in his Jagir Dyawago. The future ruler of Kashmir received little education but he was trained in all manly arts. He could ride his horse and wield his sword.

After the invasion of Mohamad-ud-Din Ghori the Rajput hegemony in the hilly tract between Punjab and Kashmir was shattered. The Rajput rulers who held sway around the town of Jammu regained their independence when the Moghul kingdom began to show signs of disintegration. They were combined under Raja Dhrou Deo and his son Raja Ranjit Deo. The latter received a jagir from the Durrani king for help rendered against Raja Sukh Jewan of Kashmir in 1730 and ruled for 44 years.

Ranjit Deo had two sons, Brij Lal and Dulel Singh. Brij Lal revolted against his father and later succeeded him in 1780. Mohan Singh who is known to history as the brother of Ranjit Singh was a sworn friend of Brij Lal but he conspired against him and attacked Jammu. Thus the sovereignty of the house of Dhrou Deo over the surrounding country disappeared for the time being.

Gulab Singh was a descendant in direct line from Raja Dhrou through his third son, Mian Soorat Deo. Cunningham doubts the genealogy of Gulab Singh. But Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in his grant of the Raj of Jammu to Gulab Singh, mentioned the fact of Gulab Singh's ancestors having been the rulers of the principality. Raja Dhrou Deo was a Rajput prince of the Surya Vansi (Solar) dynasty who ruled over Jammu in the eighteenth century.†

The affairs of Jammu being in confusion Ranjit Singh ordered in 1808 Bhai Hukam Singh to annex Jammu to the Sikh State. It was in this battle that young Gulab Singh fought so well that he won admiration from the enemy even. Gulab Singh intended to go to Kabul to enlist in the army of Shah Shuja but later changed his mind and joined the army of Ranjit Singh in 1809 as trooper at Rs 3 p.m.

* Dogras are a people who reside between Chenab and Sutlej, originally between Chenab and Ravi. Agni Varmon is the first known Dogra Raja who ruled Parole in Kathua District.

† The earliest mention of Jammu in recorded history is with Timur's invasion in 1398.

in Mungla, west of Jhelum. Gulab Singh fought many battles and the seige of Multan 1819 brought him to Ranjit Singh's favourable notice. In the frontier campaigns of Ranjit Singh between 1815 and 1820, Gulab Singh played a prominent role. At this time the hilly area around Jammu was under the influence of Mian Deo. Gulab Singh hit on a stratagem to subdue this bandit chief. His supplies were cut off and his fort attacked. Deo was killed while fighting.

In 1820 Jammu was given to Gulab Singh as a jagir. Later on he was given the title of Raja and allowed to keep an army. In 1821 Gulab Singh undertook the conquest of Kishtwar and on his way received homage from Dyal Chand, Raja of Chenani. Next Gulab Singh marched on Rajouri whose ruler Ajor Khan had given annoyance to Ranjit Singh in his expedition against Kashmir in 1813. It is in lieu of such services that Ranjit Singh granted to Gulab Singh and his successors the principality of Jammu with the hereditary title of Raja in 1822 A.D.

In 1841 Gulab Singh allowed passage to British army for invasion of Afghanistan which Ranjit Singh had refused at the time of first Afghan War.

Copy of the sanad granted by Ranjit Singh:

'On this auspicious occasion with extreme joy and with heartfelt love, I grant to Raja Gulab Singh in recognition of his conscientious and loyal services, the government of the Chakla of Jammu which from time immemorial has been in the possession of his family. He and his brothers, Dhyan Singh and Suchet Singh appeared in my court at a very early age and loyally and devotedly served me and the State. Their ancestors also served faithfully for a long time under my father Mohan Singh Ji of happy memory. They spared no pains to render their services to me promptly and submissively and to give me satisfaction. They have always been found faithful to me and loyal to the State. They have shed their blood freely in many campaigns, such as the conquest of Kashmir, the seige of Multan, the punishment of the rebels, the suppression of rebellion on the frontier and the fight with the forces of Kabul. In consideration of these and other services I grant the government of the Chakla of Jammu to Raja Gulab Singh and his descendants and I myself mark forehead of this loyal and devoted servant of mine with the emblem of sovereignty. With great pleasure I also grant Raja Suchet Singh the government of Ramnagar to be his own and his descendants, as a reward for the great services he has rendered to me. He and his descendants may dispose of its income on their own account provided that Raja be loyal to the State henceforward as they have been till now, that they receive our descendants with no less honour and submission and that their descendants be as loyal to us as our descendants. In witness of this I grant this Purwana of mine with my own hands together with a bunch of saffron'.

Dated 4th Ashad 1879 (Vikram).

At the age of thirty, this was indeed a proud achievement for Gulab Singh. Tibet was next to be invaded. But this campaign could not be successful. He and Hari Singh Nalwa repulsed an attack from Kabul in 1823. In 1827 Gulab Singh was the overlord in Jammu having conquered Riasi, Kishtwar, Rajouri and Samarth etc. except Poonch which belonged to Dhyani Singh and Ramnagar which belonged to Suchet Singh. The Illaqa being hilly and the people turbulent, Gulab Singh took great personal interest in the administration. He raised and kept intact a reserve of money and trained and equipped an army. The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh on 27th June, 1839 was followed by Court intrigues and internecine strifes. In the Afghan War of 1841 the British enlisted the support of the Sikhs who were not in any way anxious to help them in their Kabul expedition. This provided an opportunity for friendship between the British and Gulab Singh*. On 19th January 1842, the British force was beaten back at the Khyber Pass. In recognition of his services the British Government sent him an appreciative Kharita on 8th April 1842. Gulab Singh was offered Jalalabad and was asked to give up Ladakh but this he did not accept. The murder of Dhyani Singh, Gulab Singh's brother, by Ajeet Singh in Badami Bagh Fort created further resentment in Gulab Singh against the Sikh Community. The uncle and the nephew, Suchet Singh and Hira Singh, came to grips in 1844 and this resulted in the death of the former. Then followed a dispute between Hira Singh and Gulab Singh. But Hira Singh died on 21st December 1844. The Sikh Sardars combined to smash the 'Ulysses of the Hills' but he averted an all round attack. The Sikh army was defeated at Satwari on 3rd April 1845.

The same year war between the Sikhs and the British became inevitable, for the Sikhs felt convinced that the British Government wanted to annex Punjab. Gulab Singh who had counselled the Sikhs not to go to war with the British, remained neutral for a time. He was, however, persuaded to take charge of the Prime Ministership of the Sikh State on the 27th January 1846. He immediately started negotiations for a settlement. These negotiations failed when the British laid down the condition about the disbandment of the Sikh Army and the battle of Sobraon was fought on February 10, 1846. The British won, though at a huge cost. Gulab Singh again negotiated peace and secured a reasonably fair treaty for his sovereign Duleep Singh who was recognised as ruler on his ceding the territory between Beas and Sutlej and paying £ 15,00,000 as war indemnity. Gulab Singh's success in negotiating this treaty infuriated his rival Lal Singh who managed to get himself installed in his place. It was now that Gulab Singh realised the precariousness of his position. But Gulab Singh's opportunity was not long in coming. Lal Singh, his successor, in accepting the Treaty negotiated by him, protested his inability to pay the indemnity of £ 15,00,000. To deprive Gulab Singh of his territory

* Gulab Singh obviously betrayed the Sikhs.

and give the British the option of holding Kashmir—an impossible feat at that time, or accepting a reduced indemnity, he offered to hand over Jammu and Kashmir. This resulted in a revival of the original proposal to make Gulab Singh, the independent ruler of Jammu and Kashmir with this difference only that now he had to pay a sum of Rs 75 lakhs (Nanakshahi). In Gulab Singh's accepting this proposition, the Treaty of Lahore was signed on the 9th March 1846 as originally negotiated by him.

'In consideration of the services rendered by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu to the Lahore State towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Government, the Maharaja (Duleep Singh) hereby agrees to recognise the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Raja Gulab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British Government with dependencies thereof which may have been in the Raja's possession since the time of Maharaja Kharak Singh and the British Government in consideration of the good conduct of Raja Gulab Singh who agrees to recognise independence in such territories and to admit him to the privilege of a separate Treaty with the British Government'.

This clause of the Treaty of Lahore concluded under force of circumstances cannot exonerate the betrayer.

On the 16th March 1846, seven days after the Treaty of Lahore, Maharaja Gulab Singh signed the Treaty of Amritsar by which he became the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

The 'Sale of Kashmir' which is so much talked about is in reality more a fact than a myth. Kashmir was simply sold to Gulab Singh. The situation is not clarified when it is borne in mind that the areas surrendered by the Lahore Government between Ravi and the Indus were to be transferred to Gulab Singh according to Clause 12 of the Treaty of Lahore with Maharaja Duleep Singh, then an independent ruler, before the Treaty of Lahore was signed because the bargain was struck by the Britishers for their ally. According to Panikkar 'The cession of Kashmir was the price paid for Gulab Singh's efforts to bring about a speedy peace which, if he had thrown in his weight with the Lahore Durbar, would not have been an easy matter to achieve. The ease with which the peace was concluded was due to the agreement reached with Gulab Singh by which Kashmir had already been promised to him'. It may be that the British could not conquer Kashmir in 1845, much less hold it, with Sutlej as their boundary, Ferozepur as their base, a hostile Punjab on the line of communications and Sikhs ready to fight. It is true that Kashmir was not a part of India in the

• This is another instance of a stab in the back.

eighteenth century, not even till Ranjit Singh occupied it. It was an Afghan Province. And in all schemes for the partition of the Punjab, there may have been many proposals for allotment of areas, not necessarily Kashmir, as that would also lead to consolidation of Afghan empire and thus be a perpetual danger to the British. The British wanted to divide up the Sikh empire which would be a great menace if it extended from Multan to Gilgit. By snatching Kashmir out of it and passing it on to an ally the object was achieved, thus killing two birds with one stroke. Sir George Clark, Agent to the Governor-General at Lahore, wrote in March 1849:

'I have been under the necessity on more than one occasion of testing, rather severely, Gulab Singh's loyalty to us. My belief is that he is a man eminently qualified by character and surrounding territorial possessions for the position of ruler there, that all his interests lie on the side of friendship with us, that he will always desire and some time or another may need our countenance of his authority against enemies. Their aggressions, whether Chinese or Goorkhas on one side of him or Afghans on the other, will be retarded rather than precipitated by his proximity to them in that form instead of our being in more direct contact with them'. Why did Ranjit Singh himself create a Dogra kingdom it may be argued? He put off the Afghans. Lord Hardinge did the same for more cogent reasons.

'Gulab Singh, the present Rajah of Jamu, is the elder brother of the Rajahs Dhihan and Suchyt Singh, who were originally Meas, i.e., squires, or dependents, of the old Rajah's family at Jamu. Gulab Singh owes his first rise to his brother, Dhihan Singh, who, when his first influence was fully established at the court of Lahore, found no difficulty in introducing him to the notice of the Maharajah, as already mentioned in my visit to Ghuzni and Afghanistan. Gulab Singh had quarrelled with Rajah of Jamu, his rightful master, and entered into the service of the Rajah of Kishtwar, with whom he remained three years; but hearing that Ranjit was preparing an expedition against Jamu, he went to him and offered his services. The Maharajah gave him a command, the old Rajah ran off, and Gulab Singh took possession of Jamu for Runjit, and then wrote to Tegh Singh, the Rajah of Kishtwar, informing him falsely that the Maharajah was going to send a force against him also. The latter and his people prepared for resistance, and sent an answer to say that they had done so. Gulab Singh then forged a paper containing an invitation from the chief men in Tegh Singh's durbar to the Maharajah, as an encouragement to him to come forward and invade Kishtwar, and sent it with a note to the Rajah himself, in which he told him that he must be joking to talk of resistance, when the chief men of the country, who pretended to be his friends, were opposed to him. Upon this, Tegh Singh ordered two of his servants to assassinate his Vazir, as he entered the durbar the next morning. They, however, only wounded him severely, and then the Rajah disowned the deed, and wrote to

Gulab Singh, who advised him to put the Vazir to death, as a punishment for his ingratitude, as well as out of a regard to his own safety; and the latter further told him to leave his army, and come to Jamu alone, under the promise of an introduction to the Maharajah, who would secure him in possession of his dominion.

'Tegh Singh, having been Rajah of Kishtwar for twentyseven years was deceived throughout, and repaired to Jamu with only a few followers where he was kept for three months upon an allowance of 100 rupees a day, which was afterwards reduced to ten; and in the meantime Gulab Singh got possession of Kishtwar without opposition, and then went to Runjit, and pointed out how much he had done for him; and his face, to use an oriental phrase, became whiter for it in the sight of his master. The unfortunate Rajah then went to Lahore, where Runjit kept him for a long time without an audience. He appeared, however, in the Maharajah's presence at the festival of the Huli, and the sycophant Sirdars pretended to intercede on his behalf. . . *

'Gulab Singh, however, I was informed, bribed Tegh Singh's servant to poison his master for a reward of 10,000 rupees; and his death was effected by mixing the poison in a cup of Sherbet. His two sons were with him when he died; they escaped to Ludiana, and the eldest joined Shah Shuja's unsuccessful expedition against Kabul in 1834; and when he was beaten, wandered in the disguise of a *fakir* through Kashmir where I saw him; and thence again through the mountains to Ludiana'.

Some do accuse Gulab Singh of treason against the Lahore Durbar and the death of Nao Nihal Singh, caused by the fall of the archway, was designed by him. Though incidentally he lost his eldest son, Udham Singh (Randhir Singh), Lord Hardinge says, 'was he (Gulab Singh) not the Minister and were not four other Commissioners associated with him for settling the terms of peace?' Sir W. R. Lawrence says that when the second Sikh War coloured the map of the Punjab red, some regretted the transfer of Kashmir to the Dogra Chief. But in his opinion based on some knowledge of the possibilities of Kashmir it was fortunate that the English did not annex Kashmir because they had not annexed the Punjab yet.

Cunningham is of opinion that the English bargained with Gulab Singh. Mr Sapru in his monograph No. 14 (Punjab Government

* Kishtawar is about 3,000 sq. miles in area. It has a population of 75,000. It is famous for pine forests and saffron. Sapphire mines at Paddar at a height of nearly 16,000 ft. add to its richness. The Tehsil is being connected with Paddar, Bhadarwah, Chamba and eventually with Himachal Pradesh by wide roads. A 50 Kw. diesel set is providing power to the area. Possibilities of wood based industries and 400 Kw. Hydel Project are on the anvil. 15 Ayurvedic, Unani and Allopathic dispensaries provide medical relief. That 4,300 students only attend 164 institutions shows educational backwardness.

Record Office Publication) pleads that the circumstances of the transaction fully justified it. 'No one then imagined that the Punjab would become a British Province in less than three years and it was deemed a good stroke of policy to weaken the Sikh Durbar by rewarding one who had been favourable to their own cause. Lal Singh wanting to get a dreaded rival out of the way, enabled the Governor-General to appease Gulab Singh in a manner sufficiently agreeable to the Raja himself, thus further reducing the importance of the successor of Ranjit Singh'. Sir Richard Temple also says that Lord Hardinge aimed to divide the Sikh power between the Lahore Court and Gulab Singh and thus effectively weaken it. The Maharaja remained faithful to the British to the last.

A. P. Nicholson in his famous book *Scraps of Paper* referring to this question says:

'We sold the right to keep it, if he could conquer it, to Gulab Singh.'

In the *Life of Hardinge* appears the following account. 'It was necessary to . . . to weaken the Sikhs by depriving them of Kashmir. The distance from Kashmir to the Sutlej is 300 miles of very difficult mountainous country, quite impracticable for six months. To keep a British force 300 miles from any possibility of support would be an undertaking that merited a strait-waistcoat and not a peerage. The arrangement was the only alternative. The Government took away with one hand and gave with the other as the exigencies of the case required'. To Lord Ellenborough, Lord Hardinge wrote: 'It was always intended that Gulab Singh whose troops had not fired a shot should have his case and position fully considered. . . After the war commenced were we to abandon our policy and to treat the only man who had not lifted up his arms against us with difference because he came to headquarters especially deputed by the Lahore Durbar to confer with us as one who had joined in their unprovoked invasion? His forbearance was in accordance with an intended policy . . .' Again in a letter to the Secret Committee, the Governor-General wrote on March 14, 1846.

'On the other hand, the tract now ceded included the whole hill possessions of Raja Gulab Singh and the Jammu family. Its possession by us enables us at once to mark our sense of Raja Gulab Singh's conduct during the late operations, by rewarding him in the mode in accordance with his desires'.

The treaty only transferred to him the legal title, as no actual possession over Kashmir was handed over to him. He acquired the territory for himself though he did so with the help of the British. 'Sold even a thousand times, Joseph is no slave'.

'Their fields, their crops, their streams,
Even the peasants in the vale,
They sold, they sold all alas!
How cheap was the sale'.

—IQBAL

Maharaja Gulab Singh despatched Dewan Lakhpatt Rai to take possession of Kashmir but Imam-ud-Din, the then Governor, did not surrender and offered resistance. The Hari Parbat Fort was seized by him but subsequently the General was killed and his army was in imminent danger. Maharaja Gulab Singh* then applied to Sir Henry Lawrence for assistance in taking possession and when the combined forces of the Maharaja, the British Durbar and the Sikhs marched against the Governor, Imam-ud-Din, he surrendered declaring that he had acted according to the written instructions of Lal Singh†. When Maharaja Gulab Singh came to Kashmir he found the land divided into three categories one part under mountains, one part under water and the rest under Jagirdars.¹

Gulab Singh belonged to the school of Napoleon, burning with a desire to conquer. But his contemporaries were too formidable to allow him to extend his conquests. He sought his game elsewhere and made war with the hill tribes on the frontiers. Wazir Zorawar Kalhoria who is believed to have led these campaigns has carved a name in the annals of Kashmir*. He (Gulab Singh) conquered Ladakh

* Maharaja Gulab Singh entered Srinagar on the 9th November 1846 and reached Sher Garhi at 8 a.m.

† Brigadier Sheeler with Col. Henry Lawrence, the Resident, proceeded with troops to aid Gulab Singh. Imam-ud-Din stated that he was acting under instructions from Lal Singh, Wazir of Lahore, and afterwards surrendered to Col. Lawrence. His statement proving true, the Governor-General demanded the exile of Wazir Lal Singh.

¹ After about a quarter of a century of rule the Sikhs disappeared from Srinagar, the place of influence. During the Municipal elections in Twenties of the present century a handful of Sikhs only were registered as voters and they too were mostly domiciles. They survived as 'tillers of land', 'hewers of wood' and 'drawers of water' in villages round Srinagar and remained educationally backward.

* Rupkund skeletons discovered recently at a height of 18,000 feet in the Himalayas on the Indo-Tibetan-border in Garhwal District might have been the dead bodies of the expeditionary force led by Zorawar Singh who invaded Western Tibet in 1841-42 according to a U.P. Forest Officer—(H.K.M.)

Zorawar Singh was not a Sikh, neither was he an employee of the Lahore Durbar. He was a Kalhoria Dogra Rajput belonging to the village of Kussal near Reasi, in Jammu Province. 'Zorawar Singh was remarkable among his contemporaries for his absolute financial honesty. He never accepted a present from anyone, and whatever was given to him was sent to Gulab Singh. He carried this principle to such a length that he only wore the clothes that the Maharaja gave him and was content always with a very meagre salary. He had another peculiarity. He never sent despatches of any kind about his expeditions. The tributes and revenue collected were sent down post-haste to Jammu and the Maharaja had to discover from it what new country his General had conquered. By these conquests he and his family did not benefit to the extent of a single penny.

and Tibet in 1842, annexed Chilas in 1850 A.D. and subdued Gilgit in 1852 A.D. To conquer these hill Rajas was no easy task. They had forts built everywhere. Their army consisted of people who were proof against any kind of hardships. Today they were routed and to-morrow they would again make war and re-capture the lost places. They never appeared on the battle field to kill or to die but like guerillas played 'hide and seek' game. To fight such people was to do battle with the air or to give blows upon water. Gulab Singh who was a great soldier showed sound knowledge and practical experience during his campaigns against the Frontier tribes. He was a great unifier and he welded together various patches of his kingdom. His encouragement of art and patronage of learning besides his grand personality and noble character raised the town of Jammu from a mere barrack to the first rank among the many stately cities of the Indian Empire. Once Gulab Singh watched with interest the construction of a bridge constructed by convict labour. 'One convict solicited the Maharaja for pardon. The offence was the murder of a girl for her jewels. The Maharaja was infuriated at this and enhanced the sentence. While sitting in judgment the heir apparent was ordered to be nearby. Once a complaint came that a hen was stolen. The offender was summoned and the barber was commanded to shave half of his moustache and he was paraded in the open bazar'.

Kashmir came under the rule of Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1846, five years after the campaign to Tibet by the General. The route followed by him was via Kishtwar which formed a part of Jammu State.

According to Panikkar, the Dogra army under Zorawar Singh on his Tibetan expedition consisted of 5,000 soldiers, most of them were Balti and Ladakhi recruits strengthened by a small Dogra force.

'Swami Pranavananda in his book *Kailas Mansarowar* has stated that the testicles and one hand of Wazir Zorawar Singh are kept in a Buddhist monastery near Taklakot. Regarding the death of Wazir Zorawar Singh, the Swami states that the Tibetans 'shot him with a golden bullet as they believed that the General was endowed with supernatural powers and no lead bullet could penetrate his body'. Later they hacked him to pieces. According to other historical accounts, General Zorawar Singh was killed by Tibetans near the Indo-Tibetan border in 1841. The Dogra army, which numbered 5,000, was also killed or frozen to death near Purang due to severe cold and snowfall. General Zorawar Singh who already captured forts of Gurang and Turang had reached Mansarowar Lake and Kailash to attack Tibet but due to snowfall his army could not stand the cold and had scattered at different places. Tibetan army, led by Jongjot, attacked the Dogra army which was in a critical hour and 'butchered it like sheep'. Mehta Bastiram of the Dogra army was the only man 'to survive the disaster by escaping beforehand and making his way through Almora Hills, from where he reached Jammu to announce the sad news'. The Dogras had beards like the Sikhs and dress resembling like that of people of Himachal Pradesh.

This provided instruction for the Yuvraj in the administration of justice*.

He died of dropsy on 25th Sawan 1914 (August 1858 A.D.), the year which witnessed the horrors of the Indian Mutiny and his death was marked by an earthquake. He was only 66 years old.

The tribes of Hazara rose in rebellion in 1847. At first it had not become possible to cope with it but subsequently it was suppressed. Gulab Singh thereupon asked the British Government to exchange Hazara with Mandi and Garhi. Hazara was assigned to Lahore and Gulab Singh got Kathua and Suchetgarh with part of Manawar. The boundary was further altered in 1847 under the supervision of the British officers, Cunningham, Strachey and Thomson. Poonch† which had passed on to Gulab Singh was given to Jawahar Singh, the eldest surviving son of Dhyani Singh. But soon after, he claimed a share in Gulab Singh's property on the ground that they were the joint family property of all the brothers. The claim was settled on 12th May 1848 by Frederick Currie and Gulab Singh was declared as the rightful master. The claim of Chamba was further adjusted by the transfer of Bhaderwah to Gulab Singh and taking away Chamba from his territories.

In 1848, when the second Sikh War broke out, Maharaja Gulab Singh stood by the side of the British although he was approached by both Dost Mohammad Khan of Kabul and Sardar Chattar Singh to help them. The Sikhs were defeated again.

It was no easy job for Gulab Singh to look after an administration which had gone from bad to worse in the time of Sikhs. The shawl industry¹ which was the main source of livelihood for the people was taxed very heavily. Reckless governors had given away much of the land in the valley as rent-free concessions, forced labour told upon the peasantry, sati and infanticide were common, robbers infested the hills. Nicholson records in his diary on 19th November 1847:

'Had some conversation with a party of Kabul merchants taking tobacco and snuff to Kashmir whence they intend returning with pashoo and tosh, which at last fetches a very high price in Kabul. They complained of the oppressive duties in their own and Maharaja Gulab Singh's territories but remarked that in the latter their goods were protected whereas they frequently ran great risks from the plundering

* He disarmed people and gave exemplary punishments to stabilise his rule.

† Poonch is 1627 sq. miles and 3,219 ft. above sea level.

¹ Kashmir was ever noted for Shawl, Shali, Shalgam and Shikara. Shawl is a blanket of fine Pushmina wool. Its origin is referred to in Mahabharata when Dhritrashtra desired to present 18,000 arikam (shawls) to Krishna on his visit to the court of the Kurus as a Delegate from the Pandavas. Mir Syed Ali of Hamadan revived the Shawl industry which had long died out.

tribes between Kabul and Peshawar'. A number of men were determined in each village for *begar* and every man on *begar* duty was paid a *khirwar* of rice per month and given food. Another system of grain control was revived immediately after the first Great War. The re-organisation of the shawl department or the Dagshawl received his attention next. The shawl tax was reduced, the Moulut (carrying accounts to the 14th month) was abolished and Chuttiana cancelled. The efficiency of his forces was always a matter of deep concern to him.

In 1851, trouble arose on the Tibetan frontier over the refusal of the zamindars of Ladakh to allow full transport to Western trade mission from Tibet. The dispute was settled by representatives of the Maharaja and the Dalai Lama.

There is no doubt that it was an uphill task for Gulab Singh to consolidate his dominion. A characteristic of his personality was that he was ready to listen to complaints. Even in a crowd one could catch his eye by holding up a rupee (as *Nazar*) and crying out, 'Maharaja Arz Hai'. He would jump down like a hawk upon the money and listen to the petition. Once a man shouted in the customary manner and then closed his hand and said, 'No first hear what I have to say'. Gulab Singh did not lose patience, he heard the petition, and when the hand was opened he gave orders about the case.

Gulab Singh was a remarkable man of the nineteenth century. He began as a petty official and founded a kingdom. 'He was after Ranjit Singh the greatest lord in the Punjab'. He knew tricks and stratagems. Opportunism was so near him that he always availed of it. Cunningham writes: 'He must be judged with reference to the morality of his age and race and to the necessities of his own position. If these allowances be made Gulab Singh would be found an able and moderate man who does little in idle or wanton spirit, and who is not without some traits both of good humour and of generosity of temper'. Major Smyth states: 'With all this he was courteous and polite in demeanour and exhibited a suavity of manner and language that contrasted fearfully with his real disposition'. The present Jammu and Kashmir is his monument. 'It is at once a memorial of that foul act when, like the arch traitor of old, we bartered innocent lives, which fate placed in our hands, for a few pieces of silver'.

'Gulab Singh had agreed to pay 68 lakhs to his Paramount before the war broke out. He should have paid the deficient million of money as a Lahore subject, instead of being put in possession of Lahore Provinces as an independent prince'.

Immediately after the sale of Kashmir, the British imperialists realised their mistake as the following quotation from Canon Tyndale Biscoe's Autobiography makes it clear:

'Wazir to Lt. Urmston—but that order was for India, not for Kashmir. Urmston—now watch my hand. He drew a red line right round the boundaries of Kashmir joining it to British India. This happened in

1857'. It is since then that the British had an eye on Kashmir, particularly Gilgit.

It is clear beyond any doubt that 1846 created an independent state of Kashmir recognising Gulab Singh as an ally of the British, not a vassal. But the latter did not mean it. They started penetrating through needlehole under one pretext or another until they succeeded in installing a British Resident in Kashmir whose policy of interference went so far in Pratap Singh's reign that the Maharaja could not appoint any one even to a post carrying a monthly salary of Rs 100. Missionaries were deputed, men at large were sent from time to time to undo what had been done unconsciously in 1846. Troubles were fomented in Twenties and Thirties only to annex the State with British India. Man proposes, God disposes. The British themselves were destined to march out in 1947 but the wrong done could not be rectified.

TREATY OF 1846 A.D.

*Treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh,
concluded at Amritsar on 16th March 1846*

Treaty between the British Government on the one part and Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other, concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie Esquire and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence acting under the orders of the Right Hon'ble Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B. one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East India and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person.

Article 1. The British Government transfers and makes over, for ever, in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies situated to the Eastward of the river Indus and Westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahore, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State according to the provisions of Article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore dated 9th March 1846 A.D.

Article 2. The Eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively for that purpose and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

Article 3. In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provision of the foregoing Articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of 75 lakhs of rupees (Nanakshahi), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty and twenty-five lakhs on or before the 1st October of the current year 1846 A.D.

Article 4. The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5. Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the Arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring State and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6. Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join with the whole of his military force the British troops when employed within the hills or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7. Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject nor the subject of any European or American State without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8. Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect in regard to the territory transferred to him under the provision of Article 5, 6 and 7 of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated 11th March 1846.

Article 9. The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10. Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, 12 goats (6 male and 6 female) and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.

This Treaty consisting of the above Articles has been this day settled by Frederic Currie Esquire and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Amritsar this sixteenth day of March in the year of our Lord, 1846 corresponding with the seventeenth day Rabi-ul-Awwal 1264 c Hijri.

True to the very word of the 'Treaty of Amritsar, Jammu and Kashmir State has always stood by the Paramount Power in their hour of need.

'At the outbreak of the Mutiny', says the author of *Letters from India and Kashmir*, the 'late Maharaja Gulab Singh enjoined, nay, ordered his son (Ranbir Singh) to proceed with all his troops to the aid of the British, an injunction promptly obeyed and soldiers of Kashmir fought by our side at the stage of Delhi.'

The Jammu contingent consisting of 2,000 Infantry, 200 Cavalry and six guns, under the political charge of Lt. Col. R. Lawrence, reached Delhi at a critical moment in the history of the Mutiny. The troops were commanded by Dewan Hari Chand. His Highness the Maharaja also sent valuable cash contributions to the Government of India.

After this the Kashmir State troops fought side by side with the British troops in the various campaigns on the frontiers of India including the Tirah and the Chitral campaigns*.

* The states were created and allowed to continue by the British as a buffer against any indigenous revolt.

BRIEF HISTORY OF FRONTIER DISTRICTS CONSISTING OF LADAKH, BATISTAN AND DARDISTAN

Ladakh: The district of Ladakh consists of the following* sub-divisions:

Rukshuk, Zanskar, Lubre, Leh, Dras and Kargil. This district was formerly a part of Chinese Tibet under a Governor called Gyapu. Fa-Hian, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, visited Ladakh in 400 A.D. About 1687 it came under the nominal sway of the Moghul Emperor but it was really in 1834 that Ladakh lost its independence for the first time. It was attacked by Sultan Sayed of Yarkand in 1538 A.D. and by Kalmakun in 1685 A.D. It came under Skardu twice in 1620 and 1720-50 A.D. About the middle of the seventeenth century the ruler of Western Tibet who was at war with Chinese Tibet sought help from Shah Jahan. The Moghul Army crossed the Indus at Khalatze and marched to Bazgo village. The Mongols who had encamped at Jargyal between Bazgo and Nemo were defeated in battle. In return for this aid Kashmir got the monopoly of shawl wool trade. But after the return of the Moghuls, the Mongols again attacked Ladakh and the King had to submit and pay an annual tribute to Chinese Tibet.

Maharaja Gulab Singh despatched Zorawar Singh with a force for conquest of Ladakh in 1834 A.D. In the first skirmish the Ladakhis were defeated at Pashkyum but they again attacked the Dogras with an army of 15,000 near Langkartsa between Kargil and Suru. But this time they were completely routed losing 400 of their number and 200 who were taken as prisoners. The king of Ladakh submitted, agreeing to pay a war indemnity of Rs 50,000 and an annual tribute of Rs 20,000. While the Dogra troops were engaged in these operations, the Chief of Sod attacked Dogra fort at Suru but Zorawar Singh retook the fort and beheaded 200 insurgents.

Gulab Singh again despatched Zorawar Singh from Jammu with 12,000 troops in 1841 A.D. to take possession of Lhasa. The Dogras reached Guhrak and defeated the Lhasa troops. On return to Mantalan they seized the fort of Gurbang and Parang by storm. But Lhasa troops came back under Chhgjut, retook Gurbang and defeated the Dogras under Zorawar Singh. Twenty-five soldiers only survived to tell the dismal tale. On hearing this Gulab Singh sent another force of 6,000 under Dewan Hari Chand and Wazir Ratnu. They

* Road from Srinagar to Karakoram Pass where it enters Chinese Sinkiang is about 400 miles. This was the Central Asian trade route footed also by Huien Tsang and On Kong. When Chinese declared Sinkiang as a 'closed territory' in 1949, it adversely affected entire trade in this region. A motor road has been constructed which goes up to an altitude of 11,580 ft. (Zojila) where temperature varies from 5 to 20° F.

defeated the enemy at Kargil who lost 3,300 soldiers. They then besieged Chamarh Gumpa where Bakhshi Achhinjut and Karam Shah had concentrated themselves. The Generals surrendered and were brought as prisoners to Leh from where they escaped after nine days. But the Dogra force again pursued them till they were humiliated and brought as prisoners to Gulab Singh who had encamped at Nasim Bagh. The Maharaja pardoned them after concluding a peace treaty with Lhasa in September 1842 according to which Ladakh came permanently under Jammu and traders of Ladakh and Lhasa got the reciprocal concession conducting trade freely in both the countries.

Baltistan: The Rajas of this place are said to be the descendants of Sikandar of Kashgar. They were under the Kings of Kashmir but in the time of Chaks they were independent. When the Moghuls came they again lost the independence which, however, they regained under Afghans. In 1837 A.D. Raja Ahmad Shah was at war with his son Mohammad Shah who got Tilel as Jagir from Col. Mian Singh, the Sikh Governor. During Zorawar Singh's expedition Mohammad Shah was caught and taken as a prisoner to Skardu by his father. Thereupon Zorawar Singh marched but restored it to Ahmad Shah on his paying a heavy war indemnity. When Zorawar Singh was killed at Mantalan, Ahmad Shah rebelled again but was overpowered a second time by Dewan Hari Chand who brought him as a prisoner to Jammu where he afterwards died. Mohammad Shah received an allowance from the Maharaja at Skardu. It may be noted here that Baltistan consists of the following subdivisions: Kharmang, Khaplu, Skardu and Rundu.

Dardistan: The district of Dardistan consists of the following sub-divisions: Astore, Bunji, Chilas, Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Yasin and Chitral.

During the time of the Moghuls, Gilgit was under Kashmir but when the Afghans appeared it broke away. In the time of the Sikhs, its ruler Mohammad Khan was overpowered by Suleman Shah of Yasin. The latter himself was murdered by Azad Khan of Punial who declared himself the master of the country. Azad Khan was in turn killed by Tihar Shah of Nagar. Tihar Shah ruled for some time and after his death was succeeded by Gauhar Aman, son of Suleman Shah who then usurped the throne.

In 1842 A.D. Ghulam Mohiuddin, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, sent troops to Gilgit under Nathu Shah and Mathra Dass to help Karim Khan, brother of Sikandar Khan against Gauhar Aman who sustained a defeat and fled to Punial. Karim Khan then assumed the sovereignty of Gilgit. Nathu Shah who remained there and married the daughter of Gauhar Aman to himself and the daughters of the chiefs of Hunza and Nagar to his sons.

Maharaja Gulab Singh appointed the same Nathu Shah as Governor of Gilgit in 1845, but the chief of Hunza killed him together with Karim Khan for bringing two European Officers with

him. Gauhar Aman, the Chief of Punial and Yasin, with the help of the people of Delel, invaded Gilgit. Bhup Singh and Sant Singh, in command of Gulab Singh's garrison, gave a crushing defeat to Gauhar Aman. Soon after, the sons of Gauhar Aman, namely Mulk Aman, Mirwali, Mirghazi and Pahalwan Bahadur, assisted by Dards and Hunza people, held Bhup Singh into an ambushade at the Niladar Hill and massacred 100 of his troops and took 200 soldiers as prisoners who were sold as slaves after forcibly converting them to Islam. Only one woman escaped who crossed the Indus by holding the tail of a cow to tell this horrible tale at Bunji. This made Gauhar Aman again the sole master of Gilgit. In 1856 after his death, Maharaja Ranbir Singh despatched General Devi Singh with a large force to re-conquer Gilgit. The enemy fled away before this force and the whole district as far as Yasin was occupied again. The victorious General installed Uzmat Shah and Isa Bahadur as Governors of Yasin and Punial respectively.

In 1859 A.D. Gilgit was permanently annexed to Kashmir when Mulk Aman who had revolted again was given a severe defeat by the Dogra force under the command of General Hushiara.

Chilas and Delel were annexed in 1851 and 1866 respectively. Yasin was taken in 1859 and was subsequently ceded to the sons of Gauhar Aman with whom a Treaty of Peace was concluded.

The Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar, though tributary to Kashmir, often gave trouble to Maharaja's garrison at Gilgit, but in December 1891, these two principalities were subjugated by British Indian and Kashmir Imperial Service Troops under the command of Col. A. Durand, the then British Political Agent at Gilgit. When the Chinese were thrown to Rudok, a peace treaty was signed between the Lhasa Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1842 which reads: 'We shall neither at present nor in future have anything to do or interfere at all with the boundaries of Ladakh and its surroundings as fixed from ancient times and will allow the annual export of wool, shawls and tea by way of Ladakh according to the old established custom.'

LADAKH

(PAST AND PRESENT)

Leh, the capital, is 11,555 ft. above sea level. A portion of population lives at 12,000 ft. to 15,000 ft. Climate is dry and rainfall hardly three inches. To the north lies Kunlun Range, to the east Tibet, to the north-west Skardu, to the west Kashmir and to the south Lahul and Spiti. The chief valleys are Leh, Chashul, Rupshu, Changchenmo.

Ladakh is about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the area of Jammu and Kashmir but has a population of 90,000 only. The Indus cuts through the mountains and the valleys. Dust-storms are frequent. At night the temperature is low. In winter it is all snow. The temperature drops down to 60° below zero.

Rudok, Purang, Guge and Lowo formed part of Ladakh in the 17th century. These were lost in the Mongol War of 1682-1683 except Mensar village which paid revenue to Ladakh Kings till 1840 and thereafter to Dogra Government. At one time Lahul and Spiti were also included in Ladakh. The total area is 45,762 sq. miles. The chief crops are wheat, gram, buck wheat and barley. Salt and wool are exported. Cabbage, cauliflower, brinjal and potato are widely grown. Apricots, apples and grapes are in abundance. Population is predominantly Mongolian. 83,000 people inhabit 238 villages. In Leh Tehsil there are 42,000 Buddhists and 4,500 Muslims. Sonamarg-Kargil-Leh road is the present high-way. Every Buddhist hamlet has a monastery, chief being Hemis, Spituk, Phiong, Shesh and Rezong. Lamas make about 4 per cent of the population.

The total cultivable land in 1941 was 3 per cent. There is acute shortage of fuel and timber. The whole of the Ladakh wears a deserted look at dusk. The density of population is 1.2 and 7.1 per sq. mile in Leh and Kargil.

Electrification and road transport is likely to change the physical as well as economic shape of the district.

The first convoy of jeeps passed over Srinagar-Kargil-Leh road on 1st August 1962 across an height of about 13,000 ft. The road is 153 miles and was completed under the supervision of S. Narbo, himself a Ladakhi. It took six years to complete and cost Rs 106.28 lakhs. Army engineers had already started portion of it from Srinagar to Kargil in 1948. It was a dream translated into reality for the cut off people of Ladakh which was reached formerly in a month's time with the help of ponies. On an average nearly 3,000 people including 700 Tibetan refugees worked on the road which passes over some of the worst terrain of the world. It has three bridges at

Pushkym, Hewiskot and Khalatse and also three mountain passes at Kapi La (11,000 ft.), Namyika (12,000 ft.) and Fatu La (12,432 ft.). The Central Asian trade route was about 400 miles long. It was known in 7th and 8th centuries A.D. It was this route which was used when fourth Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir in the time of Kanishka (125-152 A.D.). It was also used by Huiien Tsang and On-Kong when they came to Kashmir. Lalitaditya's, Mirza Haider's and Renchen Shah's conquests were also led across Zoji La.

Since Chinese took over Tibet, trade between Ladakh and Kashmir had been greatly hit. The new route opens up possibilities of better trade.

In the middle of December Leh town was electrified. It was a miracle. A Telephone Exchange was already being installed.

According to Dr M. A. Stein, the well-known antiquarian, On Kong's reference to 'the road in the east' which led to 'Thou-fan' corresponds undoubtedly to the present route over the Zoji La to Ladakh and thence to Tibet.

Kashmir's ancient 'Warrior King' Lalitaditya, who conquered Ladakh in the 8th century A.D., dispatched his troops across the Zoji La, the 'lowest of all Himalayan passes'. Later, Renchen Shah, a Ladakhi prince who became the king of Kashmir (1319-1324 A.D.) also took the Zoji La route to cross into the valley. Similarly in the 15th century Zain-ul-Abdin, the 'Great King of Kashmir', sent his forces via the Zoji La pass to subjugate Ladakh. And though 'the difficulties of the passage of the Karakorum mountains' prevented the Chinese from attempting the conquest of Ladakh in the 16th century both Ladakh and the Kashmir Valley were overrun by the forces of Mirza Haider of Kashgar (Chinese Turkistan). Evidently Mirza Haider entered the Valley through the Zoji La. In the 17th century Mughal troops from the Kashmir Valley were sent across the Zoji La to help the then king of Ladakh, Delegs Namgyal, to drive out the Mongol hordes from the area. But when Gulab Singh, the Dogra chieftain of Jammu, conquered Ladakh in 1834, he rushed his troops through a pass in Kishtwar at the head of the Suru valley and via the 17,370 ft. high Umasi La connecting Padar (Kishtwar) with Zanskar sub-division of Ladakh. And finally in 1948, Indian troops under the command of General Thimayya, also entered Ladakh via the Zoji La to expel Pakistan raiders from the frontier region. For the first time light tanks were also taken across the pass in November that year.

Alexander Cunningham who travelled on the road in 1846-47 described it as 'one of the most excellent and most easy route to be found throughout the alpine Punjab'. Though not jeepable as at present, the greater portion of the Kargil-Leh road 'was made by Zorawar Singh after the conquest of the country (by the Dogras) in 1834'. But earlier in 1812 the great Mughal traveller, Izzet Ullah, who visited Ladakh and Central Asia, described the few marches on

the Kashmir side of the Zoji La as 'difficult and rocky so as to be impassable to a mounted traveller'.

The cessation of the Central Asian trade via Leh and Kargil has seriously affected the economy of Ladakh. This trade which was valued at Rs 93 lakhs in 1920-21 came down to Rs 78,246 in 1939-40. This was mainly due to the lack of stable government and the hostile attitude to the trade on the part of certain elements in Chinese Turkestan and other areas in Central Asia. The trade dwindled further when the Chinese Communists sealed Sinkiang's borders with Ladakh soon after September 1949.

Since, however, Ladakh's trade with Tibet also has been on the decline for some time. It has practically meant a sort of an 'economic blockade' against the frontier district from its northern and eastern neighbours. At one time, out of the huge quantities of pashmina wool imported from western Tibet by Ladakhi traders in exchange for their goods, about 3,200 maunds used to be sold to Kashmiris. But such is not the case now.

Under these circumstances, the completion of the Leh-Kargil road connecting the closed, rugged frontier area with the Kashmir Valley will open new avenues of trade in Ladakh. First settlers in Ladakh were the Mons from North India followed by the Dards of Baltistan. Both profess the Buddhist faith. Mons brought their musical instruments and the Dards the game of polo.

The population of Ladakh is 88,892 scattered over 259 villages. Ladakh is described as the Land of Gompas.

There are at present 254 schools in Ladakh, one school for 350 students. Besides there is a Cinema house and Tehsil Congress. President is a woman.

Satlone Hydel Scheme was estimated to cost Rs 234 Lakhs and expected to generate 3,400 Kwts of power.

A sum of Rs 327 Lakhs/724.62 Lakhs was earmarked for Ladakh in the 4th Plan. Borax deposits total about 5,400 tonnes (100 tonnes yield annually), sulphur 2 lakh metric tonnes, sodium 100 tonnes and common salt 50 tonnes. The annual yield may go up to 400 tonnes of borax and 200 tonnes of sulphur. Total area brought under cultivation is 40,000 acres. Four agricultural research farms have been set up. 'The roof of the world' has now 1,607 K.M. of roads and 70 bridges. The population stood at 1.8 per sq. mile as against 66 in the state and 370 in the entire country.

In the Western Sector, the boundary is that of Jammu and Kashmir with Sinkiang and Tibet and is about 1,100 miles in length. This boundary, long recognised by custom, was confirmed by the treaty of 1842 signed by the representatives of Jammu and Kashmir on the one hand and the Dalai Lama and the Emperor of China on the other. It also received confirmation in diplomatic correspondence exchanged between Britain and China in 1847-48.

During the last five years, since 1957, Chinese forces have continuously extended their aggressive intrusions into Indian territory in the Western Sector (Ladakh) and have forcibly and unilaterally altered the long established boundary culminating in their latest massive aggression.

The deceitful nature of China's three-point proposal becomes all the more evident when we come to the Western Sector in Ladakh. Here, too, the Chinese do not define their 'line of actual control' but generally claim that it coincides 'in the main' with what they call 'the traditional and customary line'. But actually the Chinese 'line of actual control' as it existed in November 1959 was no line at all. It consisted merely of a few isolated Chinese posts on Indian territory—posts which China had progressively established since 1957 by forcibly and unilaterally altering the traditional *status quo* of the boundary, even while the Government of China was continuing to assure the Government of India that they had no territorial claim against India. There is a difference of 8,500 square miles between the real 'line of actual control' as it existed in November 1959 and what the Chinese now falsely claim as the 'line of actual control' of 7th November 1959.

Rejecting the Chinese interpretation of the 'line of actual control', the Indian Prime Minister wrote to the Chinese Prime Minister on December 1, 1962 as follows:

'What you call the 'line of actual control' as on November 7, 1959 in the Western Sector was only a series of isolated military posts. You are aware that in November 1959 there were no Chinese posts of any kind either at Qizijilga, Shinglung, Dehra, Samzungling or any areas to the west of these locations nor did the Chinese have any posts to the south or west of Spanggur. Despite this, "the line of actual control as on November 7, 1959", as your Government now claims in Ladakh is along the line of control established by force after the massive attacks mounted since 20th October, 1962. This is a definite attempt to retain under cover of preliminary cease-fire arrangements, physical possession over the area which China claims and to secure which the massive attack since 20th October, 1962 was mounted by your forces. This we cannot agree to '.

The 20 kilometres withdrawal of Chinese forces is to be from the line of actual control as on November 7, 1959 as defined by China.

Indian military posts will be kept on and up to this line.

The maintenance of civilian posts of both sides on a basis of parity, in the demilitarised zone of 20 kilometres created by Chinese withdrawal, is a substantive part of the Colombo Conference proposals. It is as to the location of the posts, their number and composition, that there are to be direct talks between Indian and Chinese officials.

RANBIR SINGH

Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the third son of Gulab Singh, was born in the fort of Ramgarh in Samvat 1887-1889, some say at Ramnagar. His eldest brother Udham Singh was born on 27th Assuj 1874 and died on 22nd Kartik 1927. His elder brother Randhir Singh *alias* Sohan Singh was killed in action in Samvat 1901. Maharaja Gulab Singh who was not keeping good health for some years before his death asked Ranbir Singh to look after the administration of the State and this enabled the prince to equip himself for the duties which he had to fulfil as the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State. About two years before his death Maharaja Gulab Singh himself gave Rajtilak to Ranbir Singh on the 18th Phagan 1912. According to Thakur Kahan Singh Billawaria, soon after his accession, three unsuccessful attempts were made on the life of the Maharaja in close succession by a band of intriguers. They were all punished in 1915 Samvat when the intrigue was traced. Sir Richard Temple who had known Maharaja Ranbir Singh since 1853 A.D. when he paid a private visit to Jammu, writes: 'He was at that time 30 to 32 years of age. Handsome in face, with a very long moustache and a mien indicating high birth. His figure was small and his legs inclined to bend outward but he rode and shot well'. The author of the 'Letters from India and Kashmir' wrote in 1870 A.D.: 'His Highness is in person handsome and of a complexion—I know not how to express it with a more expressive epithet than olive—an olive colour his face presenteth, fair for the people of his country with features of the Grecian type, nose and forehead a straight line with a short black curly beard. His puggery of lawn with a lawn of gold tissue was relieved in colour by one scarlet gold. On his forehead was painted a yellow symbol with green centre that indicates the followers of Shiva and he wore the Brahmanical cord, also a necklace of berries inlaid with gold resembling the rosary of Romanists and used for the same purpose. The rest of his dress was of white cambric and a ribbon of scarlet and gold lace across his badge of authority'.

'Government and other agencies would get 20 traks (trak is 5 seers 3 chataks) and $6\frac{1}{4}$ seers, plus $22\frac{1}{2}$ chilkis (chilki anna is half Company anna) upon 192 traks in Rabi crop and 21 traks and $13\frac{1}{4}$ seers, plus $17\frac{3}{4}$ chilkis upon 142 traks in Kharif crop. The revenue in kind was collected through Tehsildar, Thanedar, Kardar, Mokhdam, Patwari, Shukdar, Sazawal, Taruchdar, Harkar and Doom who all fleeced the Zamindar (food grower)'. The following taxes were in force:

House tax 4 to 20 annas.

Fruit tax $\frac{3}{4}$ of the price.

'Animal tax—2 to 3 animals a year from each village yielding 500 khirwars of grain (khirwar is 16 traks=83 seers), 1 pony, loi (blanket), $\frac{1}{2}$ seer ghee for each milch cow, 1-10 fowls from each house, $\frac{2}{3}$ of honey wherever produced.

'Shawl tax Rs 47.50ps in 1867 or Rs. 18.75ps per cent for stamp at Dagshawl.'

'Marriage license fee Rs 3 (license fee to purchase a girl for prostitution was 100 chilki). Every nautch-girl was paid 80-100 chilki a year and was not permitted to marry.

'Begar or forced labour was paid at the rate of 4 to 7 chilki for double journey from Srinagar to Gilgit or Astor which involved a period of 24 days.'

According to Robert Thorp ('Kashmir Misgovernment' 1870) Kashmiri character is exhibited in a marked degree in honest and loving kindness.

'Shali sold at Rs 2 (chilki) a khirwar (chilki rupee is ten annas). It was sold at half this price when Gulab Singh came'.

Gulab Singh created a kingdom which the new ruler consolidated. He spent a considerable sum of money upon education and roads. In his time crime and drunkenness became almost unknown. The economic conditions were such that a rupee would buy 80 lbs. of rice, 12 lbs. of meat and 60 lbs of milk. Fruits grew in abundance and had little value¹. But as Mrs Bruce says, the year 1877 was a cruel time on account of a very bad season. Maharaja Ranbir Singh's anxiety for improvement of the administration and the lot of his subjects is reflected in the talk recorded by Sir Richard Temple in his Journals. Sir Richard says: 'I tried to hint delicately that, like all other places, Kashmir would benefit by increased care. The Maharaja said that he was conscious of many defects and that as soon as he had leisure from affairs at Jammu, he would go to Kashmir and introduce several reforms adding that he felt himself responsible to God for the care of his peoples. He then went on to say that Kashmir's population did not increase as much as he hoped, that many of his people had emigrated and that much land was lying waste In the afternoon I went again to bid the Maharaja farewell. He told me that he was endeavouring to improve the judicial system and that he had Doctors of Hindu and Mohammedan law in the work'. Rev. Robert Clark founded Church Missionary Society in Kashmir in 1864 A.D.

During the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh there was practically no change in the then existing judicial administration which was

¹ This only indicates economic backwardness of the country. Lack of communications was greatly responsible for this. The average yearly income could hardly be Rs 11 per head.

Now Kashmir has 35,000 acres of land under fruit cultivation. The annual export is about 44,000 mds.

conducted by the Governors and other officials. The Maharaja himself could be easily approached by any of his subjects who sought justice at his hands. It must be remembered that Maharaja Gulab Singh had to devote much time to the consolidation and building of Jammu and Kashmir State and it fell to the lot of his son, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, to set up an administration. He divided the administration of the State into three main heads: Daftar Nizamat, Daftar Diwani and Daftar Jangi.*

For the first time a Penal Code, containing 100 Sections only, was published in Dogri characters†. At every Police Station the Maharaja appointed an officer known as 'Chakladar'. This officer used to settle all petty civil and criminal suits.

An Adalat Sadar was created at Jammu and another at Srinagar. All cases of importance used to be decided by this Court. The Maharaja himself used to take keen interest in the administration of justice which was very cheap. It only required a stamp worth annas eight for getting a case decided by His Highness. The Maharaja used to hold his Durbar daily. Describing the Maharaja's Durbar, Frederick Drew who saw one himself says:

'It is when the Maharaja is sitting in public Durbar, holding open Court for the hearing of petitions that the Mandi has its liveliest appearance. For the morning Durbar he will take his seat at nine or ten o'clock beneath one of the arches of the arcade on the cushion which here answers for the throne, accompanied by his eldest son and surrounded by his ministers, and with, may be, from fifty to hundred other courtiers and attendants seated round against the wall at distances according to the degree.

'Thus seated, and supported, the Maharaja looks down on the petitioners who stand in the Square which is some feet lower than the room. Each coming in succession according to their petitions, previously written on stamped paper and given in, are called on, stands in front with hands closed, in the attitude of supplication, while the prayer is read out. The subjects of the petitions are wonderfully varied; perhaps an employee will ask leave to return to his home or to take his mother's ashes to the Ganges; next, may be a criminal is brought to receive final sentence; then a poor woman, with face veiled, will come to complain of some grievance or other, or a dispute about a broken contract of marriage will have to be decided. These are all listened to patiently enough and on the simpler cases the decision is given at once and written on the petitions. The civil and criminal cases have usually been previously inquired into by judicial officers, in the courts of first instances, and perhaps have been adjudicated on by the Appeal Courts of Jammu or of Srinagar, but it is open to the suitors and complainants to try their fortune

* It was one man's rule in whom were vested all powers, judicial as well as executive. Dogras made it feel that Kashmiris were a subject race.

† Kashmiri characters had receded into background.

with the Maharaja himself. The Maharaja does his best to find the truth, will examine and sharply cross-examine the witnesses. It frequently ends in his referring the matter to the magistrate for investigation in which case it will be again brought before him for final decision'.

In Samvat 1848 (1891-92), a new State Penal Code called 'Sri Ranbir Dandh Bidhi' was compiled and issued.

The Jammu and Kashmir State Civil Courts Regulation of 1877 defines the powers of High Court which was created the same year, as follows:

'The High Court (Adalat-i-Alia) shall be deemed for the purposes of all enactments for the time being in force to be the highest court of appeal or revision, subject to the control and the judicial powers exercised by His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur. The general superintendence and control over all other Civil courts shall be vested in, and all such courts shall be subordinate to the High Court'.

There were in all 25 courts of which 14 were Wazarat courts. Besides there was a court in Srinagar called Adalat Dag-i-Shawl and a Panchayat Court consisting of eight nominated members (four Hindus and four Muslims) to look after general welfare. There were also three courts at Ladakh, Gilgit and Skardu. Two Sadar courts at Srinagar and Jammu heard appeals against Wazarat courts. A Law Department under a Secretary was also established.

In the very beginning of his reign the Maharaja had to devote much attention towards military activities. He supervised drilling of soldiers. In 1857, when Mutiny broke out, he led a contingent consisting of 2,000 infantry, 200 cavalry and six guns to the aid of the British.* It was due to these services, says Younghusband, that his right to adopt from collateral branches an heir to the succession on the failure of heirs (male) of Gulab Singh on whom alone the country had been conferred by the British was recognised. The Sanad was conferred in March, 1862.

After the termination of the Mutiny, the Maharaja turned his attention towards strengthening his position in Gilgit. In 1860, he sent a force under Colonel Devi Singh, which reduced the fort built by Gauhar Rahman who had just passed away. The forces then advanced towards Yasin and took it. After the reconquest of Gilgit, Raja Isa Bahadur of Punial, who had incurred the wrath of Gauhar Rahman, sought refuge at the Dogra Court and was reinstalled in his old principality. At the time of his reinstalment he acquired the territory of Ishkoman. In 1865, the disturbances which originated from Hunza, made the retention of Gilgit difficult again. The ruler of Chitral assisted the insurgents. Reinforcements were sent by the Maharaja and Darel Valley was occupied. The garrison was re-

* The Kashmiris were disqualified for military service.

established at Gilgit. In 1867, Punial was invaded by its enemies from Yasin. But relief was sent from Gilgit and order restored. About this time the valley of Chaprot was occupied by the Hunza ruler. In 1877 the then ruler of Nagar occupied Chaprot and Chalt, and from that day these areas were held by the Nagar and Kashmir troops. In 1876 Yasin, Kuh-Ghazr and Ishkoman were under the rule of Mehtar Pahlwan Bahadur who belonged to the ruling dynasty of Chitral and professed allegiance to the Maharaja of Kashmir. But he proved treacherous and Aman-ul-Mulk was permitted by the Maharaja's Government to incorporate the whole country. He partitioned the districts among paid Governors under the Maharaja after their severance from Chitral in 1895.

The Maharaja introduced many reforms in the administration of the State. As already referred to above he divided the administration into three main heads, Daftar Nizamat, Daftar Diwani and Daftar Jangi. The Jammu Province was divided into seven Wazarats—Jammu Khas, Jasrota, Ramnagar, Udampur, Reasi, Nowshera and Mansar. The land revenue assessment was considerably improved. The Jammu Wazarat had four Tehsils and 30 Parganas.

Out of the total area of 686,450 *ghumauns*, 33,344 *ghumauns* were under cultivation and the land revenue was assessed at an average rate of Rs 1.58ps. The Kashmir Province was divided into six Wazarats—Shahar-i-Khas, Anantnag, Shopian, Pattan, Kamraj and Muzaffarabad. Taxes had increased in Kashmir from reign to reign. Ranbir Singh remitted many of them such as *Tarki* which was imposed on Zamindars from old times (it yielded an income of 209,000 *chilkis* though hardly one-fourth of the total produce was left with the tiller of the soil and sometimes even less). The imposition of the tax is explained thus: Out of every two *Khirwars* of the produce one *Khirwar* was taken away as land revenue. Out of the balance of one *khirwar*, eight *traks* were taken away as the so-called *rasumi Tarki*, *rasumi Manwati* and *Qanungoi* and *Girdawari* and the part of *Shakdars* and *Sazawals**.

Moorecroft who visited Kashmir in 1824 A.D. describes how heavily the shawl trade and other trades were taxed in Kashmir. He says 'Every shawl was taxed 24 per cent upon the estimated value besides which there was an import duty on the wool with which they were manufactured and a charge was made upon every shop or workman connected with the manufacture. Every other trade was also taxed'. The trade of Kashmir received a great set-back partly on account of heavy taxation and partly on account of the heavy fall in the export trade brought about by the Franco-German war of 1870. Prior to this the Kashmir shawl known as *Kashmere* was the fashion in aristocratic societies in Europe and was exported to the continent

* They were mostly Pandits and their houses were mortgaged to the State. The illiterate Dogra officer would receive money and his subordinate Pandit would issue the receipt. He suffered for *baqaya* (balance).

in large quantities. The tax on shawls which was called 'Dag-i-shawl' is dated as far back as 1197 Hijri and was a great source of revenue. In the time of Ranbir Singh the tax at the old rate yielded a revenue of 12 lakhs. The Maharaja remitted this huge tax altogether just to help the industry. The other taxes on different arts, crafts and trades were as under: Taxes realised from Srinagar (trades) Rs 45,687.71; taxes realised from Srinagar (arts and crafts) Rs 16,621.50; taxes realised from Anantnag Rs 4,280.37; taxes realised from Shopian Rs 1,079.25; taxes realised from Pattan Rs 304.31; taxes realised from Wazarat Kamraj Rs 9,151.50; (Total Rs 77,125.25). These taxes were all remitted. Besides many petition boxes were set up, import duty abolished, marriage tax withdrawn and kidnapping put down.

The following extract from the administration report of the Punjab for 1864-65 will be read with interest:¹

The reduction of customs affected by His Highness last year had led to a considerable increase in the trade with the adjacent districts in the British territory. The trade with Sialkot is reported to have increased in value from Rs 1,35,000 to Rs 1,71,900 per annum, that with Jullundur and Hoshiarpur to have more than doubled.

Chiefly in regard to the items of saccharine produce and native cloth, in Gujrat there is said to have been general increase in the trade with Kashmir. The export of silk from Jhelum is stated to exhibit a similar increase and the value of shawl, wools and saffron imported to the Kangra district, showed an increase of Rs 9,000. In 1867 His Highness decided to apply the rate of five per cent, charged for goods in transit from the Punjab to Yarkand, from all imports from Central Asia or India of which the bond was not broken in the State territories. In 1870 a trade treaty was concluded with the British Indian Government. Under its terms, His Highness the Maharaja undertook to forego all duty on the trade between Central Asia and British India, in return for the same concession made by the Indian Government for goods imported into the State through British India.

There occurred a severe clash between the Shias and the Sunnis in 1872. The disturbance was brought under control and the Maharaja gave Rs 3 lakhs to the Shias by way of relief because they had suffered much*. The famine of 1877 was of severe type. Foodstuffs

* The Zar-i-nikah brought a revenue of about Rs 21,000 to the State. It was imposed on Muslims under Muslim rule.

¹ It was in the first quarter of the 19th Century when Napoleon was in Egypt that he picked up a Kashmir shawl and presented it to Josephine whence it became an article of fashion in rich circles of France and thus fetched a good price to the Kashmir weavers.

* According to some accounts shawl weavers and embroiderers were thrown out of employment. For the first time they asked for civil liberties and the movement later on turned into a communal conflict. That aspect of the situation paid the then ruling class.

could not be easily imported from the Punjab because no motorable road existed then between Rawalpindi and Srinagar though the construction of a cart-road had just begun. The Maharaja, however, ordered grain to be purchased worth about a lakh of rupees from the Punjab. Besides, an Irshad was issued saying that 'Any one who imported food grains to the value of Rs 20,000 will be awarded Rs 1,000 as Khilat and will receive the pleasure of His Highness'. In the meantime some grain purchased at Sialkot arrived. The grain had cost the State Rs 15.90 per Khirwar but it was sold at the rate of Rs 4.25 only. Free langars were started to feed the poor. About 195,714 maunds of grain were imported. The State met a loss of about Rs 33,64,195.19ps. Those who emigrated during this famine were later on induced to return.

Under such circumstances the question of transport would draw any ruler's attention. The construction of the Jhelum Valley Road was already started. The cart road between Jammu and Srinagar was also started with a bridge over the Chenab at Ramban. This bridge was built at a time when over 2-ton motor lorries were unknown but it has existed up to this day in spite of heavy vehicular traffic that runs over it. The bridge was built by the local people and the steel used in its construction was brought from the rich mineral areas in Reasi district. A telegraph and a postal system was introduced to link up various parts of the State. To increase the speed of mails 129 stages were set up between Jammu and Srinagar and it took only 25 to 30 hours for the mail bags to reach Srinagar from Jammu and vice versa. Settled condition in Kashmir valley attracted many visitors to Kashmir and in order to afford facilities to European visitors a direct mail line from Jammu to Lahore was established in Samvat 1921.

Anxious to further develop the postal system the Maharaja invited Mr Hogg, the then Postmaster-General of Punjab, to Jammu and discussed with him all possibilities of improvement. In 1934 (Bikrami) the Maharaja thought of connecting Gilgit with Srinagar by a telegraph. And he did it with the help of an officer from the Punjab Government. Later, Jammu was also connected with Srinagar. Telegrams addressed from Srinagar to British India were sent from Jammu to Sialkot through horse service but in Samvat 1935 the State Telegraph line was extended to Suchetgarh which brought the State nearer to British India telegraphically.

While earlier the visitors were looked after through the Punjab Government, in 1877 an officer on special duty was placed directly under the Government of India who replaced the mixed court of 1872 consisting of British and State officials, for deciding civil suits between local people and the European visitors. In the Afghan war

* The slogan was 'Rafizan pata chhai Kafran lar'—after the Shias the Pandits (heretics) will be exterminated. The outbreak was indeed dreadful.

of 1878-80 the Maharaja sent a contingent of troops and artillery to assist the British. He introduced vine cultivation* at various places and brought productions of the country on a firm footing. Silk industry received a great impetus during this time. He imported seedlings of mulberry trees from China. Tea gardens were laid in the Tehsils of Reasi and Basohli. In Samvat 1931, production of the hand-made paper was started for Government use. Shawl manufacture, papermaking and sericulture were already introduced into Kashmir by Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin. Paper-making spread as a cottage industry round Vicharnag and survived till the earlier days of Maharaja Pratap Singh, when mill-made paper pushed it out of existence. Opium cultivation which was restricted to Bhaderwah and Kishtwar only was extended to other parts of the State as well. A brewery was established at Gupkar and the Kashmir wine won a gold medal at the Calcutta Exhibition. Sir Oliver St. John, Officer on special duty in Kashmir, conveyed Viceroy's appreciation to the Maharaja on this successful manufacture.

Ranbir Singh was a great patron of art and letters. As early as 1867, when the idea of founding a University at Lahore was first mooted by Sir E. Mcleod, the then Lt. Governor of the Punjab, the Maharaja gave a donation of Rs 6,25,000. When the University was founded in 1882 Maharaja Ranbir Singh's name was incorporated as the First Fellow in the Charter. A Translation Department was created to translate books on various subjects for use in the schools of the State. Subjects like Geology and Physics were also dealt with. The chief books published then are Sri Ranbir Parkash (diseases and their treatment), Ranbir Vrat Ratnakar (Dharm Shastra), Ranbir Bhakti Ratnakar (Puranas) and Gulabnama (history of Gulab Singh in Persian). Scholars were sent to Tibet to learn the Tibetan language and many Tibetan books were translated into Hindi. Vidya Bilas Press was the first printing press introduced in his time in the State. Writing about the languages in vogue then Frederick Drew writes: 'Besides the Persian character which in these territories is hardly ever applied to any but Persian language there are three written characters used for the spoken languages. These are Dogri, Kashmiri and Tibetan. The Dogri alphabet in its old form was imperfect and not easy to read either accurately or quickly. For this reason a few years ago the Maharaja recommended its modification. It was brought nearer to Devnagri, so near that the system is quite one with that, though the forms are somewhat different. New Dogri is used for the petitions that are read before the Maharaja, for this purpose it has replaced Persian in which petitions were written when I first visited Jammu but it has not generally displaced either Persian or old Dogri'.

In every Wazarat and Tehsil a school was opened and provision was made for higher studies in oriental languages. A big Pathshala

* Vines were imported from Bordeaux and Hops from England.

was opened at Ragunath Temple, Jammu and another at Utterbhanⁱ where instructions were imparted in the Vedas, Grammar, Kavya Shashtra and Niyay. Books were supplied free and scholarships granted. Frederick Drew was in charge of mineral survey and under his direction iron and coal were worked to certain extent*.

Considerable attention was given to irrigation and one of the most important canals in the State is known after him, though it was completed in the time of his successor. Earthquakes occurred in 1883, 1878 and 1884 A.D. Famine visited in 1864 and 1877 A.D. Cholera broke out in 1857-58, 1867, 1872, 1875-76 and 1879 A.D. and fires caused a devastation in 1875 and 1878 A.D.

'In his home life the Kashmiri cultivator is at his best. He is kind to his wife and children, and one rarely hears of divorce scandals or immorality among the villagers. A woman who has behaved badly is a marked character in the country and public opinion is always against her. The husband sometimes chastises his wife, and the men talk somewhat boastfully of the necessity for maintaining discipline in their houses. But as a matter of fact the wife both in Musalman and Hindu houses is all-powerful, and I believe, that as a rule, the Kashmiri lives in awe of his consort. The Kashmiri wife is a real helpmate, and joint work and joint interest give rise to a camaraderie between man and wife which is very healthy. I have often come across a woman in some deserted spot singing a wailing song for a husband dead long since. The cultivators look down upon the boatmen and will not intermarry with them, as they consider them lax in the matter of morality. But, though kind to his own family, the Kashmiri is not always hospitable to his neighbours, and though generous enough to strangers, I have known many instances where he showed a lamentable want of charity'.

Going on to explain this and the reasons for a lack of community feeling in the villages at that time (1890 A.D.), Lawrence cites something of the miserable Kashmir history:

'It is a curious and melancholy state of things, but the reasons are not far to seek. Briefly, the Kashmiri cultivators have hitherto been treated as serfs, and have literally been forced to cultivate. They had no interest in their land, and were liable at any moment

* The course of history in Kashmir would have changed if Swami Dayanand Saraswati, founder of Arya Samaj, had been permitted to visit the country by Ranbir Singh who had personally no objection. Sanatan Dharm would not yield to Arya Dharm. Sometime later Vivekanand who planned to set up a University at Ram Munshi Bagh was declined a plot of land by its owner. Earlier the Sikhs were prevailed upon not to demolish the Shah-e-Hamdan mosque from which had flowed the teaching of Islam. These incidents reveal that Kashmiri Pandits never ceased to play their role both for good and evil. It was not patriotic for a Pandit to refuse land for a University which was ultimately taken over by the Government.

to be called away to work for officials or men of influence. They became absolutely hopeless and sullen, and each man played for his own hand. If they had combined, their condition might have been happier. This sullen temper is one of the worst points in the Kashmiri character, and joined to deep-rooted apathy, makes it very difficult to improve the condition of the people. It is said and with some truth that, even if bidden to a feast, the Kashmiri will not go unless he is forced; and when urgent work is necessary to prevent some disaster to the crops, the villagers themselves say, 'we do not want pay, but we want the slipper', this being their phrase for compulsion. Crime is almost unknown in the villages. Property is absolutely safe, and I have never heard of such a thing as the theft of crops. Offences against the person are extremely rare, and when Kashmiris quarrel they call one another by bad names, and will occasionally go so far as to knock off a turban or seize an adversary by his effeminate gown. The sight of blood is abhorrent to them.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh introduced his own currency. The State Mint was closed twelve years after his death in 1897 A.D. when the British currency was introduced. Similarly the State Postal system was amalgamated with the Indian Postal system in 1894 A.D.

Sir Richard Temple bears testimony to the high character of the Maharaja. He says: 'His private domestic life seemed to be good. He came out daily and was certainly free from many frivolities and vices which but too often disfigure the private conduct of Oriental Princes'. Maharaja Ranbir Singh was granted G.S.C.I., and a royal salute of 21 guns for his services to the British Empire. Earlier he had been offered a jagir in Oudh in return for the State force's assistance in putting down the Mutiny. He declined the offer because the help rendered was given as an ally. Lawrence says:

'The other side of *Begar* (forced labour) is also a great trouble to the villagers, but it has been easier to abolish. It consists of requisitions for village produce, and is a form of purveyance on behalf of officials. Under this system officials would obtain wood, grass, milk, poultry and grain, blankets and an occasional pony, cows and sheep free of cost, and higher officials would build houses in the city or cultivate waste land through the unpaid labour of the villagers'.

Maharaja Gulab Singh had established the treasury of Shri Raghu-nathji with a fund of rupees five lakhs, the interest to be spent on *Sadavarts*. Ranbir Singh was appointed Trustee to look after the *Devasthanas*. Ranbir Singh enjoined upon his sons, heirs, descendants etc., to lend their help to his Trust and to see that the Trust deed was respected in letter and spirit. This was issued on 20th Kartik, 1950.

Rajas Pratap Singh, Ram Singh and Amar Singh accepted the injunction of their father with heart and soul by a declaration dated 25th Baisakh 1941. The oath administered in the name of a hundred thousand sacred cows is incorporated in the *Ain-i-Dharmarth* which governs the

administration of the ecclesiastical department. The Trust ought to go now.

Ranbir Singh breathed his last on 14th September 1885 A.D. Conveying his condolence to his successor, Pratap Singh, H.E. the Viceroy and Governor-General in a letter dated Simla, the 14th September, 1885, wrote: 'Maharaja Ranbir Singh rendered valuable service to the British Government. I feel that his loss is the loss of a friend'.

PRATAP SINGH

Maharaja Pratap Singh G.C.S.I; G.C.I.E; LL.D; etc., was born in 1850 A.D. and succeeded the throne in 1885 A.D. Ranbir Singh had four sons, namely, Raja Pratap Singh, Raja Ram Singh, Raja Amar Singh and Raja Lachman Singh. Pratap Singh was the eldest. Raja Lachman Singh died in 1848 A.D. Raja Ram Singh was a soldier who would admit no defeat in battle. He passed away in 1897 A.D. Raja Amar Singh was one of the richest princes of India and served as Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief in the State for some time and died in 1907 A.D.

Maharaja Pratap Singh's forty years' reign was epoch-making. The greatest contribution of the Dogra Rule in Kashmir are the two trunk roads which were completed in his time. The first drawback of Kashmir was its lack of the means of communication with British India. In 1880 there was no continuous road to drive through in Kashmir, although there existed every kind of roads between different towns. In addition to numerous short roads constructed throughout the country plans of two main roads, one joining Srinagar with Kohala and the other with Jammu, were designed for motor traffic. The Jhelum Valley Road covers a length of 132 miles from Srinagar to the Kohala Bridge and the Banihal Cart Road covering a length of 203 miles* was completed in 1922 at a cost of rupees fortythree lakhs. Bridges were constructed at Domel, Kohala and other places.

The Sialkot-Jammu Railway which linked up Jammu with British India was thrown open to traffic in 1890. Many projects have been prepared from time to time to bring Srinagar on the Railway map of India but the idea so far remains unrealised. The Sangam bridge was built in 1910.

Crops in Kashmir usually depend upon snows and not upon monsoons as in the plains. Naturally the greater the number of irrigation canals, the less apprehension of a famine. Pratap Singh constructed a number of these—Martand Canal, Lal Khul, Pratap Canal, Ranbir Canal (this being the largest serving an area of about 1,26,000 acres), Basantpur Canal, Ujh Canal and Upper Jhelum Canal. The Zainagir Canal was completed in the year 1931 at a cost of Rs 11 lakhs. A flood spill channel for diverting the waters of the Jhelum was constructed between Ram Munshi Bagh and Pandrethan. Dredging operations were conducted below the town of Baramulla for removal of silt etc. A weir was constructed across the Jhelum at Chatabal to maintain enough water in the river during winter and droughts. Arrangements were made for supply of pure water on sanitation lines to the cities of Srinagar and Jammu.

* Two way traffic tunnels have been bored near Banihal. This has shortened distance and made possible year round traffic.

Pratap Singh was an orthodox Hindu. Though deeply devoted to the Royal House of Windsor, neither he nor his brothers ever crossed the 'black water'. Even moving about India meant a cumbersome, elaborate business. 'It pleased him that his Imperial Service troops—no Kashmiri among them—had the honour of guarding the Northern passes into India'. He avoided alcohol but an 'opium peg' brightened his wit and his outlook.

Though himself not a very great soldier, the army was his great concern. He reorganised the military force, supplied it with modern equipment and brought it on modern footing. Kashmir being so rich in forest wealth its conservancy was needed. (India probably gets her best timber supplies from Kashmir). The First Great War caused great unrest in the grain market by high fluctuation. Pratap Singh took cue from Gulab Singh's food policy and introduced rationing which led to grain control that exists to this day. A step was taken in the direction of local Self-Government by establishing two Municipalities—One at Jammu and one at Srinagar. Two first grade colleges were founded at Jammu and Srinagar with a net-work of schools spread all over the country to fight ignorance and illiteracy. Two up-to-date hospitals were also opened at the capital cities. Numerous dispensaries were set up in towns and villages to combat sickness and disease and to promote public health. A well-equipped technical institute was established at Srinagar to train artisans in various crafts. Few of its kind existed in the whole of India then.

Since Gulab Singh's time revenue was obtained in kind. Probably salaries also were given in kind. One of the greatest measures of Pratap Singh's reign is the land revenue settlement of the country under the able supervision of Walter Lawrence. The revenue in kind was replaced by revenue in cash. The old Kardars who fleeced the peasantry no more exist now. Soon after followed the co-operative movement which saved zamindars from the clutches of Sahukars. In his time one State monopoly Dagshawl (shawl industry) was abolished and another, Sericulture, was set up. Silk Industry in Kashmir provided work to thousands of people in the State. 'He accomplished all this in spite of the fact that he had succeeded to a bankrupt kingdom', says Lawrence.

In 1889 A.D., only after few years of his reign, the relations between Pratap Singh and the Paramount Power became some what strained. By now—1885 the British had succeeded in installing a Resident in Kashmir*. The mixed court appointed in 1872 was abolished and the Resident and his assistants were invested with powers to dispose of certain kinds of suits. Col. Nisbat, the then Resident, brought a charge that Pratap Singh was intriguing with Russia and Dalip Singh against the British which resulted in virtual abdication of the Maharaja in 1889. The charge of plotting murder

* The British felt that after annexing the Punjab the Muslim population of Kashmir needed some protection.

of Plowdon, the British Resident, was also brought against him. 'Condemned Unheard' gives the full background. A council was constituted for the administration of the State with Raja Amar Singh and two officers from Delhi; just before his death, after the conclusion of the first Great War in which the Maharaja had given assistance and displayed deep loyalty, he was once again in enjoyment of full powers.

Pratap Singh had some trouble on his frontiers also. In his time, conquest of Hunza was effected and Chitral War was fought. The Dogra soldiers resisted attacks, offered counter attacks and finally won wherever they went*.

As in the previous reign, Kashmir saw a number of natural calamities. The earthquake shock of 1885 A.D. destroyed much life and property. Cholera epidemics of 1888, 1892, 1900, 1902, 1906-7 and 1910 wrought untold havoc. Plague that broke out in 1903-4 in Jammu, created panic in the whole State. People fled into interior to save their lives. There were big fires in 1892 and 1899 which entailed much loss of property; as if these had not been enough, there were heavy floods in 1893 and 1903. The former alone swept away about six thousand souls. The first Census operations were conducted in Kashmir in 1891 and this was followed by three other decennial Census operations in 1901, 1911 and 1921. The population of Kashmir in 1891 was only 949,041; in 1941 it was 1,728,705.

The visit of a Prince of Wales to a State was a rare occasion. During Pratap Singh's reign, two Princes of Wales visited Jammu. Their visits further strengthened the bond of friendship between Kashmir, Delhi and London. Pratap Singh spared no pains to help winning the first World War. His contributions in men, material and money were huge.

In 1914 A.D. Kashmir sent Second Kashmir Rifles to the front, the main strength of which was reinforced throughout the war. Another despatch consisting of two battalions and 2/2nd Kashmir Rifles was sent in 1917 A.D. The total number of these despatches amounted to 1,200 and 1,070 strong.

Two Kashmir Imperial Lancers (1915 A.D.) and Kashmir Mountain Battery furnished with six guns (1916 A.D.) largely added to the

* In 1877 the British Officer had been posted as Political Agent at Gilgit. He was recalled in 1881 but re-appointed in 1889. The Agency included Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Yasin, Kub, Ghiza and Ishkoman. The Kashmir garrison at Chaprot and Chalt was attacked in 1885. They offered submission in 1889 to the Political Agent, but they did not stick. After the battle, Hunza and Nagar were occupied in 1891. The Chief of Nagar was reinstated by the Maharaja. The Chief of Hunza having fled, his brother, Safdar Khan, was installed instead. According to Col. Nevile Chamberlain who commanded State troops in 1910, the State army which consisted of 24,000 soldiers had not been paid for three years. Writes he "These soldiers are sent out into the villages to loot like an invading army".

numerical strength of the war contribution. The total monetary contribution amounted to about Rs 1,11,00,000 in all. In addition to this, the State supplied 31,000 recruits to the British Indian Army. This was the largest number of recruits supplied by any Indian State during the war.

'In recognition of the signal services rendered by these Units at the various theatres of the war, many battle honours were conferred on them'.

Yuvraj Hari Singh, who was then the Commander-in-Chief, made the following contribution from his Privy Purse.

Investment in War Loans and Bonds	Rs 13,00,000
Donations etc.	Rs 2,91,000

The war began in 1914 and ended in 1918 A.D. with victory for the Allies.

During this war prices of commodities soared very high. Death by starvation was averted by the timely intervention of the Government. Narindra Nath Kaul, Revenue Minister, assisted by Salam Shah, Tehsildar, brought into being Shali Stores (now known as Food Control Department) of which every consumer was made a share-holder on payment of Rs 11 as share money. After a few months share money was returned and the concern was taken over by the Government. Shali was priced at Rupees five per *khirwar*, *hatab* (firewood) at annas eight per maund, bread five tolas one pice, milk annas two a seer, meat annas eight a seer and so on. Grain dealers, stockists, *gujjars* and butchers were rounded up and their stocks seized if they refused to sell at fixed prices. Novel punishments were given out of court such as cutting the beard on one side, dragging through the streets bare-headed and bare-footed. 'Salam Shahun Suchh' became a household term. When Narindra Nath Kaul died even stones and bricks of Srinagar wept. Never was an administrator given such a funeral as he. He was the brain behind the economic revolution while Salam Shah was the executor of the policy. This revolution catered to the urban consumer at the cost of rural producer and voiceless labourer. Kashmir was deaf to what was happening beyond her North across the Himalayas.

During the summer of 1924, there was an uprising by the labourers of Srinagar Silk Factory and this incident was immediately followed by possession of a plot of land belonging to the State by the Muslims at Anantnag. For the first time a people politically oppressed appeared in revolt and the seed took roots*. Younghusband writes in 'The

* When people met in thousands in Hazuribagh for a demonstration a battalion of the body-guard cavalry dispersed them without using spears. The casualties therefore were nominal. Another battalion of the army equipped with Sten Guns and Bren Guns was rushed to Anantnag which surrounded the whole town but no shot was fired. Saad-ud-Din Shawl was externed and Noor Shah Naqashband, a Tahsildar and a Jagirdar, was suspended and his jagir confiscated. The movement went under ground only to re-appear seven years later.

'Light of Experience' that Pratap Singh was a great gentleman and remained staunch in his loyalty to the British Crown and sedition had never the slightest chance in Kashmir. That is a reason why this movement did not receive external support then. The movement was suppressed and obviously it disappeared.

Maharaja Pratap Singh was a pious ruler. Though a Rajput, he did not take meat nor did he shoot any game. Every day from morn up to noon he would be busy with his *Puja*. In the afternoon he would come in the open Durbar. Right up to the evening the Vitasta put up an appearance of lotus crop which he had offered to the Deity earlier. The Maharaja himself watched it from his window as did his 'humblest subjects'. These lotus flowers came from his 'place of worship'. The Khir Bhawani Mela on 8th day in the solar half of Jeth attracts large crowds at Tulamula. Maharaja Pratap Singh was a frequent visitor to the shrine on this day. He would go there in all pomp and distribute alms to the poor and the needy*.

Arya Samaj preachers and Qadiani Muslims, also Biscoe Schools, gave a shaking to orthodox thinking.

His simplicity and unostentatiousness are proverbial. He was extravagantly liberal in *Dan* (charity). The current history has not come across a single anecdote that Pratap Singh had ever refused a gift or a charity. Some times he would relieve a widow. Some times he would come to the rescue of an orphan. May be that some times his charity was misplaced or his generosity abused. His Privy Purse which was one lakh per month minimum hardly made way

* A poor man once submitted a petition to him, saying that he had pawned a gold ornament to a shroff for a few rupees. 'I am now returning him the money' stated he, 'and asking back my ornament which I have made for my daughter who is going to be married soon but the shroff is telling me that he had never lent any money to me nor any ornament was ever pawned by me to him'. Maharaja Pratap Singh inquired from the poor man if he had got any proof, documentary or otherwise, to support his allegation. He told him that he had got none. The Maharaja then called him in private and, after satisfying himself of the truth of his complaint, instructed him to go to the money-lender at his shop at a certain hour the same day when, he said, he would reach there. The poor man went to the money-lender's shop and soon after he reached there on horse-back. He called the Petitioner to himself and, bending low from the horse-back, whispered something in his ear, feigning great intimacy with him. He then passed on. When the money-lender saw that the man had so much access to the Maharaja, he got frightened and at once gave back his ornament, recovering the few-rupees he had lent him. The poor man went to the Maharaja exclaiming that he, as Daniel, had come to his judgment, the Shylock shroff having returned to him the ornament as soon as he had passed on from his shop. The Maharaja smiled and told the man to go home and be happy.

outside the State, and there were few charges of luxury and extravagance. He would puff native tobacco all day long and he was accessible to the humblest of his subjects.

In his time law courts had begun to function. Ranbir Dand Bidhi was in force, and he would himself take up investigation if a complaint came to his notice. This he had inherited from his father and grand-father. But the punishments he awarded were not severe.

As there was unrest in the country, Gulab Singh had ordered to fire gun three times in a day—twelve noon, ten p.m. and four a.m. (winter) or three a.m. (summer). Twelve noon indicated time. Ten p.m. a signal to remain indoors and 4 a.m./3 a.m. indicated time limit within which the people were required to remain indoors. This practice continued up to Maharaja Hari Singh's reign, though in theory only because time had changed and 'law and order' had come to stay. His successor discontinued this practice because it was needed no more.

Maharaja Pratap Singh was very fond of cricket. He maintained a cricket team and was himself one of the eleven. Thousands of spectators were attracted to see the Maharaja hitting the ball on the playground. He was exceptionally short-statured.

Maharaja Pratap Singh's State entry into Srinagar every year between May and June was a picturesque scene. At Shalteng he would take his seat in a specially decorated chakwari with Wazirs round him and as the chakwari moved up towards Shergarhi, thousands of people were attracted who watched the procession from roofs, windows and river ghats. The river Jhelum was literally littered with shikaras moving to and fro.

Organised public opinion was suppressed as before though a solitary organisation or a solitary newspaper did make its appearance to mould the policy of administration as inspired officially. It was Dogra Sabha and *Ranbir* started from Jammu under special permission. When the author sought permission to start a paper from Srinagar he was told in writing by the then District Magistrate that it was not desirable to grant permission to a newspaper being started from Srinagar.

Mirwaiz and Hargopal Kaul led Muslims and Pandits of Kashmir but inspiration and patronage from Government guided their activities which were restricted to social and religious spheres only in fitness of the times.

Kar-i-Sarkar or forced labour survived to his day but it was paid for. It may be that it was some times abused but it was not so rigorous as previously.

As education spread, a wave of resentment arose among the local intelligentsia against the outsiders who had almost all the services in their hands. The administration was mostly manned by them. The slogan of 'State for States' People'* came to be heard every-

* The author was nominated a member of the Working Committee of A.I. States People's Conference in 1926.

where, but the Maharaja paid little heed to this growing movement. Least did his councillors imagine that this *pukar* would become a public slogan one day and lead to a political movement that would be faced by his successor and one day culminate in 'Quit Kashmir' slogan.

Pratap Singh was not blessed with a son. Once or twice a child was born to him but none survived. He adopted Jagat Dev Singh of Poonch Ruling family but Raja Amar Singh taking exception to his (former's) claim of succession frustrated the intrigue at the very initial stage. Jagat Dev became water-son to perform obsequies only and Hari Singh, the only son of Raja Amar Singh and nephew of Maharaja Pratap Singh, became thus the heir-apparent. And when he grew up, he became the Commander-in-Chief and later Senior and Foreign Member of Council.

Pratap Singh died on 23rd September, 1925 A.D. at Srinagar. Jagat Dev Singh later succeeded to the gaddi of Poonch, a Jagir under the sovereignty of Kashmir Durbar.

Since his virtual deposition earlier, Pratap Singh was over loyal to the British Government. In his time a Britisher (Bara Sahib) moved about as God's anointed. The revenue of the State had risen to about rupees two crores. Rajputs were recruited in the army. Brahmins of Jammu and Kashmir lived upon his orthodoxy. Muslims were backward. In Kashmir it is labour and trade that kept them just going. 85 per cent of the civil administration was usurped by the people of the neighbouring province of Punjab. A few low jobs such as a Patwari, schoolmaster, forest guard and clerk went to Kashmiri Pandits who flocked to schools and were utilised by the British Departmental Heads. Roughly calculated 75 per cent of the revenues went to Punjab, 15 per cent to Jammu and 10 per cent to Kashmir out of which Muslims got a negligible share. Civil liberties there were none. If there was any association its motto was 'God bless the king'. Pratap Singh would say 'Don't give too much to Rajputs, use Kashmiri Pandits as much as you can and see that Muslims do not starve'. He started a move to attract people from outside to settle in the State. Lands were doled out to them. The economic and political condition of the people was very backward so much so that joint family system had come to stay by dire need as hardly one in a family was an earner. It is only after the Great War I that people started converting earthen utensils into brass or copper ones. People were so poor that even Hindus could not change earthen utensils on such days as Shivratri or Shrada day. The custom prevails even now in some houses in spite of changed economic position. Pratap Singh was accessible to people and he was in touch with what happened around him. Some times he would baffle official informers. A kind word pays in the long run. When he died Kashmiris did say that he was a pious ruler.

HARI SINGH

Maharaja Hari Singh,* was born in September 1895. He was the son of Raja Amar Singh and a great grandson of Maharaja Gulab Singh. He joined the Mayo College, Ajmer in 1908 at the age of 13. Later on he was sent to Dehra Dun for military training. On his return he was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of State forces in 1915 when he was only 20 years of age. He took up the post of Senior Member of the then State Council in 1922.

Maharaja Hari Singh ascended the Gaddi in September 1925 but Rajtilak ceremony was performed in February 1926 at Jammu. The new Maharaja announced agricultural reforms and further extension of educational and other facilities†.

As mentioned before both Dogras and Kashmiris were demanding representation in services. At last due to the support of the ruler himself, came the State Subject's Definition in 1927 which protects the children of the soil in recruitment to services and other privileges against outsiders. According to the Definition only those persons who settled in the State before Samvat 1942 came to be recognised as hereditary State Subjects of class I. This measure was implemented by training local talent for different offices. Its rigidity is over now. Writes Alberuni—'People of Kashmir are particularly anxious about the actual strength of their country and therefore take

* *Inside Asia* by John Gunther—In 1925 in London he was the victim in a £ 30,00,000 blackmail case.

† The generation now ruling the country is the offspring of a generation that lived through abject misery. Hanji class was a notorious lot. Srinagar city of early twenties presented a grim picture—two prostitution centres at Zaina Kadal and Gow Kadal, thefts day and night, begging so common that a huge crowd pounced upon a Dumri (1/16th of an anna), labour so cheap that a Khirwar of Shali could be husked at annas four, unasked for house to house service by women, illiteracy so glaring that only few Gold's anointed could read or write, unemployment so acute that hardly one was an earning member in a family of ten or twelve, birth rate low and death rate high due to diseases for which no treatment was available, recreations and amusements were unknown. The population of the city had risen to 1½ lakhs. There were few tradesmen and land-lords who were known as Khojas, a very small percentage. Incomes of shopkeepers, artisans were very small, less than annas eight a day. Dirty clothes were a common feature, soap being both scarce and costly. The plight of Sikhs was equally frightful. Pandits as a class looked a little better off to the extent of a difference upto 5 per cent. They were constables, petty teachers, clerks and patwaries. They had condemned artisans' jobs—political bankruptcy. 90 per cent of Muslim houses in Srinagar were mortgaged to Hindu Sahukars.

always great care to keep a strong hold upon the entrance and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them At present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people'. This has got to be reckoned as a historical background for this move.

Writes (Justice) Jia Lal Kilam in his book 'A History of Kashmiri Pandits':

'Those were the days when the whole of India was pregnant with many great revolutionary potentialities. Though there was no freedom of press or platform in the State, yet a stir was clearly visible in the whole State excepting in the powers that were. The movement went under-ground. The present writer and a number of educated Pandit youngmen alongwith a Kashmiri Pandit journalist Pandit Gwasha Lal Kaul—wrote extensively to outside papers and issued hand written and some times cyclostyled posters in which the short comings of the ruling Junta were discussed thread bare. This went on for some time till contacts were established with writers in other states'.

Following the movement launched by the Muslims in 1931* for political reforms and civic rights the Maharaja appointed a Commission¹ (Grievances Enquiry) of representatives of communities which was presided over by a British Officer, Mr (later Sir) B. G. Glancy. As a result of this enquiry religious places that had passed into the hands of the Government were restored back to the Muslims and other communities, adequate representation to different communities in services was guaranteed and proprietary rights to zamindars on their lands were granted. The freedom of the press and the platform also came in its wake. The movement of 1931 created a mass leader in the person of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who in the initial stages placed a communal view-point before the people². Later on, say in 1939, he became wedded to the nationalist school of thought asking

* On July 13th the Central Jail was attacked by a furious mob. There was firing as a result of which nine persons were killed.

¹ This Commission was preceded by yet two other Commissions presided over by Sir Barjore Dalal and Mr. Middleton respectively. All the three Commissions probed particularly into Muslim grievances—the question was civic liberties and services. The author was one of scores of people who also submitted a memorandum to Dalal Commission. Bulk of the evidence revealed only communal trends in politics of the day. Feudalism was on its last legs.

² The question how this movement gained momentum has an answer. The Muslims were too backward educationally, politically and economically. They were summoned for *begar* and they were hewers of wood, drawers of water and tillers of land. The Britishers pulled them up if they did not actually inspire them. Their aim was to make Kashmir a colony. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who was only a school teacher then took the bold risk of giving a lead and he gave the lead. The alleged desecration of holy Quran

for responsible Government. The ideology attracted to him some non-Muslims as well. There were stirrs in other communities also and the most important of these were the 'Bread Movement' of Kashmir and the 'Cow Agitation' of Jammu. The former followed the publication of the Grievances Enquiry Commission Report and was led by Kashmiri Pandits who interpreted the report as an anti-Hindu document which would bang all doors of services against them and even impede the course of their development. Prem Nath Bazaz, Kashmiri Pandits' representative on the Commission, who had pleaded for recreation facilities in P'dgah was publicly hooted. The High Court had reduced punishment prescribed by law for cow killing in a single case. The Dogras protested against this.¹

Praja Sabha (People's Assembly) was established in 1934 and about 6 per cent of the population only was given the right of vote. The Praja Sabha consisted of 75 members, 33 of them being elected. In 1939, the elected element was raised from 33 to 40 and the constitution was further liberalised but increased representation was given to vested interests to hoodwink democracy.

Judicial reform was not lost sight of. In March 1928, a High Court comprising a Chief Justice and two Puisne Judges was established. In 1930, the jurisdiction exercised by Residency court was transferred to the State courts. This decreased the influence of the Political Department on local administration. A Judicial Advisory Board akin to the Privy Council in the case of British India was also established to advise His Highness in regard to the disposal of Judicial cases going up to him in appeal. On 10th September 1943, Letters Patent was granted to the High Court thus bringing it in line with modern canons of law. The judiciary in the State was thus made completely independent of the Executive.

Before the introduction of Settlement of Land under Mr W. Lawrence the status of cultivators was awfully bad. The State's share of revenue revised to 30 per cent of the gross produce contributed some relief. The total area under cultivation was 2,256,000 acres. The Settlement itself is repeated after 40 years. The Agriculturist's Relief Act specially relieved the cultivator from the clutches of the money-lender. The Village Panchayats gained impetus from 1937. They attend to medical relief, education, sanitation, rural up-lift etc. and dispose of petty cases. Out of 300 and odd Acts

by a Head Constable in Jammu Jail struck the first spark. It spread throughout the State like wild fire in a forest. Pulpits in mosques were converted into political platforms. Police and army went into action. There was loot and arson. (The author also was a victim of mob fury two days later when he was on a round). Subsequent events revealed that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and consistency were not identical. He changed his front too often and created new stunts to attain his goal.

¹ The law prescribed seven years imprisonment for the killing of a cow.

passed during the last 20 years, Alienation of Land Act of 1928 and Consolidation of Holdings Act 1940 did much to ameliorate the lot of Zamindars. Free and compulsory primary education for boys was introduced to fight mass illiteracy. Trade, commerce and industry received impetus through the Exhibition which was founded in 1929.

On March 9, 1931 Her Highness the Junior Maharani* who had accompanied the Maharaja to London in 1930 gave birth to a prince—Maharaj Kumar Karan Singh Ji (heir-apparent) at Cannes in the south of France. Since Pratap Singh's time the Dogra House had not been favoured with a male issue.

Social Reform—Marriage of boys under 18 and of girls under 14 was prohibited, even before the Sharda Act had been passed in British India. Rajputs who killed their daughters after birth were forbidden to do so. During the previous reigns, Rajputs and Brahmmins were immune from capital punishment. This disparity was ended. The Juvenile Smoking Act was passed to save the rising generation from a bad habit. Harijans whom the doors of temples had been banned were allowed freedom of worship on 2nd November 1932. Traffic in women was put an end to. Restriction against Hindu widows that they could not remarry was removed.

The seed for local self-government was sown in earlier days. The Municipal Committees at Srinagar and Jammu were official bodies in the initial stages. As education advanced and civic sense developed, municipal reforms also came. The first step was taken in 1913, then next in 1921, again in 1927-28 and finally in 1936. Just as measures were adopted to discourage emigration of labour, so was over-crowding in the cities guarded against under Town Planning which recommended extension. Old maps were redrawn.

The introduction of the basic system and recognition of the Double Script (Persian and Devnagri) for education were experiments which did not make much headway. The construction of three new hospitals at Mirpur, Jammu and Srinagar on modern scientific lines at an immense cost was designed to provide improved medical aid. For the last so many years plague has not been heard of in Jammu.

In 1935, Gilgit was leased out to the Paramount Power on certain conditions under an agreement reached between the two Governments.

The flood of 1929 was one of the severest ever witnessed by Kashmir. It caused immense loss of property. This was followed by another in 1931.

In the domain of industries besides the Silk Factory which is the largest of its kind in the world there came into being Match Factory, Santonine Factory, Tannery, Pottery Factory, Woollen Mill, Silk

* She (Tara Devi) is the fourth wife of Maharaja Hari Singh, the first three having died issueless. She comes of Katoch Rajput family from Kangra District.

Weaving Factory, Sheep Breeding Farm, Pyrethrum Cultivation, Resin and Turpentine Factory, Half Wrought Factory, Drug Research Laboratory*, Kashmir Willows, Sugar Mill, Indianite Factory. The Jammu and Kashmir Bank reflects prospects of these and other industries.

The World War II broke out in 1939. Like his predecessors the ruler left no stone unturned to help the war effort. He offered services of one Infantry Brigade Signal Section and four Battalions of Infantry (1st and 2nd Mountain Battery, 3rd Rifles, 4th, 7th and 9th Infantry, Artillery Training Centre), 18 completely equipped motor ambulances, Kashmir House at Delhi without rent, Lock-heed plane besides contributions in money and men. The total number of recruits supplied was nearly 65,000 and the total aid amounted to Rs 9,87,315-8. (war aid)—Rs 2,79,247/16 (Privy Purse), £40,000 and £ 1,000. The State troops won distinction at Keren (Eritrea) and Damascus (Syria). The ruler personally visited the Middle East in October 1941 and Italy in 1944.

At the first Round Table conference held in London, Maharaja Hari Singh boldly advocated India's freedom. And at the time Sir Stafford Cripps came to India with an offer, he issued a historical statement advocating the same ideal. In 1944 he himself appointed two Popular Ministers and in 1945 he gave the Premiership to a mulki

* Recently a wild growing plant 'adhota vasica' (Vasaka) was brought from Kashmir Valley to a research laboratory in Jammu for screening. The results showed that the plant could probably be a substitute for streptomycin—an antibiotic effective against typhoid and tuberculosis.

Today the same laboratory known by the name of Drug Research Laboratory is conducting detailed studies on the plant. The laboratory was set up to exploit the plant resources of the State and to establish a national drug industry. Since its inception the laboratory has carried out a detailed survey of several medicinal plants, helped in their cultivation on a commercial scale and assisted the drug industry to utilize them for standard preparations at economic cost. Out of 2,000 estimated medicinal plants in India, over 1,700 species are available here mounted and carefully preserved. Included in the herbarium are 300 samples of different grasses collected after an extensive survey of the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. The analysis has shown that about 20 types of grasses possess nutritive value which can be utilised effectively. Similar experiments made with oil-bearing plants show that they can yield enough oil to be used in pharmaceutical soap and cosmetic industries. Side by side, the laboratory is analysing the drugs available to 'Hakims' and 'Vaidyas.' In addition about a score of plants used in indigenous system of medicine have been investigated by the application of modern scientific methods. Their active principles have been isolated, their Pharmacological action investigated and their suitability as medicines has been determined. Search also continues for plants effective in combating insects and pests. Insecticidal plants like 'Pyrethrum' and 'derris' have been successfully cultivated in Kashmir and Jammu. Another plant 'tephrosia' is being introduced.

just giving an opportunity to State Subjects for manning the highest posts in the administration but times had gone much ahead to hypnotise people with such eye-wash reforms.

Maharaja Hari Singh was fond of polo and shikar very much as his predecessor was of cricket and puja. The two palaces of Gupkar and Ramnagar, the Hari Singh High Street and the Boulevard round the Dal Lake reveal taste of a builder. The revenue which the State yielded in 1945-46 was Rs 4,24,54,000.

But in spite of this, differences continued to exist between various communities. Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs presented a separate stand-point each. The politics of Kashmir was greatly influenced by the politics of British India. 'Akhand Hind' and 'Pakistan' slogans assured no sweet promise. In spite of obvious clash of interests both province-wise* and community-wise there was a common ideal before all-responsible government under the aegis of the ruler which later on culminated in the 'Quit Kashmir' movement.

Writes Maud Diver in *Royal India*, 'The position of Kashmir is that of Hyderabad reversed and given the moral support of the British Government, there is every possibility of a peaceful solution that may be reasonably expected to endure'. The British mind thought like this.

The Civil Disobedience Movement started in 1931 rooted itself deeply into the soil as champion of the rights of the peasant, the artisan and the worker. The sponsors of the movement were Muslims. The first batch of agitators who were taken into custody and put in Hari Parbat Fort are: S. M. Abdullah, G. N. Gilkar, Abdur Rahim, Gauhar Rehman, Master Yaqub Ali, Ch. Ghulam Abbas. Of these Abdullah alone took the Congress line later on. That was only natural. It is they who had been reduced mostly to a position of servitude since the coming of the Sikhs. The non-Muslims opposed the rising tide with the result that communal clashes could not be averted. Both as petty officer or as landlord and sahookar (money-lender) the Hindu had played no small part in shaking the confidence of his countrymen. But communal discord subsided soon.† In 1933 support of the Sikhs and the Hindus was enlisted to work jointly for the welfare of the masses. In his presidential address at the J. & K. Muslim Conference in 1932 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said: 'We stand for the rights of all communities. Our country's progress is impossible so long as we do not establish amicable relations between

* Exclusive Dogra Army, Rajput Military School, Arms Act, etc. accounted for provincialism while begar and calling of *hato* (nickname given to Kashmir Muslims) accounted for communalism. Rajput Military School was started with the money that would have been otherwise spent on charity among Brahmins at the death of Pratap Singh.

† The Bread movement in Kashmir and the Cow agitation in Jammu sadly reflected the communal mind and extended the sphere of contagion.

the different communities. This is possible only when each community* learns to appreciate the view point of other communities'. The Muslim Conference became extinct in 1939, its place was taken by the National Conference. The same year gave birth to the famous National Demand which was signed by representatives of all communities. The 'Quit India' movement started by the Indian National Congress in 1942 was followed by 'Quit Kashmir' movement led by the National Conference in 1946 preceded by adoption of 'New Kashmir' as the goal in 1944 which promised freedom from all forms of political and economic exploitation. The National Conference in its historical memorandum to the Cabinet Mission declared 'Today the national demand of the people of Kashmir is not merely the demand of a responsible Government but their right to absolute freedom from the autocratic rule of the Dogra House'. This was followed by the arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah on May 20, 1946. And from that moment onwards there was 'blood, sweat and tears'. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was taken into custody in June 1946 near about Kohala while on his way to Srinagar which further changed the course of history in the country†. On July 22, 1946 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was sentenced to nine years imprisonment and Rs 500 fine.

Mr M. A. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, spared no labours to convert Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah to his way of thinking but he met with no success. Mr R. C. Kak dreamed of isolation for Kashmir but he was asked to quit from his office six days before India and Pakistan were declared independent‡. Mahatma Gandhi who visited Kashmir in his time was also not heard. He stated, 'The Kashmiris

* This was a diplomatic move. By this time the Muslims realised that they could not singly overthrow eighty-five-years old regime even with the support of Britishers.

† Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru defied the law of the State. This turned the balance against the ruler. The Indian National Congress which Nehru represented violated the internal autonomy of the State to which both the Congress and the British Government were then committed. Hari Singh was no match against Nehru who could overthrow the Britisher. The arrest gave a fillip to 'Quit Kashmir' Movement which ultimately triumphed. If Nehru had not been arrested, events that followed would have been different. Nehru would have gained his point and Hari Singh also would have retained his throne, only if tact and sagacity had been tried on both sides.

Maulana Abu-ul-Kalam Azad writes in his book 'India Wins Freedom' 'The Congress had enough headache with the Cabinet Mission and its Plan... This was not the proper occasion to start a new quarrel over Kashmir.'

‡ Kak interpreted the mind of the Maharaja who was inspired by Sant Dev, the Raj-Guru, that he would be an independent monarch and would occupy Ranjit Singh's throne at Lahore. Hari Singh's dream looked real. Hindus and Muslims would fight one another after independence. He would march to Lahore with his army and capture the coveted throne. When the Britishers took the decision they had such a picture in mind.

had one language, one culture and so far as I could see, they are one people. The Treaty of Amritsar was in reality a deed of sale'. The question of the State's accession remained undecided¹. Too late was Abdullah released.

Kashmir was passing through a crisis. Kak was followed by Janak Singh, Batra and Mahajan. None of them could cope with the situation. Batra even inspired R. S. S. training and set up one medium wave transmitter at Jammu feeling that if Kashmir could not be retained a front would be created whether independently or within the Indian Union to ward off the enemy from Jammu. The transmitter was secured through Sardar Patel and the Radio Station came to be known later as Radio Kashmir. One unforgettable incident is mentioned here.

The day Baramulla was making last resistance a deputation waited upon Mahajan. He plainly told the deputation that since further resistance was impossible he would advise the people to cross Banihal on foot, by tonga, by bus, by boat and in this task Police boss and District Magistrate would render all possible help. He also said that he was making arrangements for the Maharaja to reach Jammu. District Magistrate was available nowhere. Inspector-General of Police was helpless as transport was scanty. And whatever he could lay his hands on he managed to supply to Dogras who took to heels during the whole night and day that followed. This was an hour of great trial for non-Muslims who could not imagine what was coming ahead and for Muslims who were making every effort to promise protection. The deputation consisted of Bhagat Karam Chand, Bala Kak Dhar, Thakur Kartar Singh, B. N. Nehru, Satyapal Vohra and the author. Planes that brought in troops carried back refugees mostly Punjabis. The whole sight was dreadful.

Extract from Mission with Mountbatten:

'One Sikh Battalion consisting of 330 men was flown on Tuesday, October 28, 1947 to block a major invasion by North-West Frontier tribesmen—the Kashmir Government accused Pakistan of failure to provide supplies of several essential commodities and protested about a number of small border raids'.

'Three days before the transfer of power and the accession time limit the Kashmir Government announced its intention of signing

¹ The question of accession would not have cropped up at all if Radcliff Award had not given Madhopur-Pathankot Corridor to India linking her up with the State.

Lord Mountbatten, the last British viceroy, played a diplomatic role. It is during his time that the Corridor was conceived and it is during his time also that State's token accession to India was later partially accepted. Was it designed that Kashmir should continue to be the bone of contention between India and Pakistan for amusement of Britain and the world?

Standstill Agreement with both India and Pakistan. Subsequently the India Government's policy has been to refrain from inducing Kashmir to accede. The Maharaja's choice in decision must be accounted a big factor in the present crisis. Almost any course of action taken quickly would have saved his State from this turmoil. Procrastination alone was fatal but in combating major crisis it would seem that, as with the Nizam, this is the only weapon in his diplomatic armoury'.

'5,000 tribesmen had attacked and captured Muzaffarabad and Domel on 25th October and were already little more than 35 miles from Srinagar. The rush of events had unnerved the Maharaja who felt lone and helpless. He left Srinagar with his wife and son on 26th October on strong advice of India's representative who was on the spot. The same day the Maharaja signed the Letter of Accession. There was only one squadron of cavalry left to hold the invaders. 'While urging the Maharaja to make up his mind about accession before the transfer of power Mountbatten had all along, from his visit in June onwards, exerted his whole influence to prevent him from acceding to one Dominion or the other without first taking steps to ascertain the will of his people by referendum, Plebiscite, election or even if these methods were impracticable by representative public meetings', Jinnah, on the other hand, was hoist with his own petard, as it was he who chose over Junagadh, to take his stand on the ever-riding validity of the rulers' personal decision'.

'You can't build a nation on tricks. Jinnah at Abbotabad had been expecting to ride in triumph into Kashmir. First there was Junagadh. Then Hyderabad. India's readiness to accept a plebiscite had been declared from the outset. A large scale massacre, including a couple of hundred British residents in Srinagar, by Tribesmen would have been inevitable if no military move had been made. The Maharaja's accession gave complete legality to the action so far taken'.

—MOUNTBATTEN

'Jinnah had given orders for Pakistan troops to be moved into Kashmir but these were called off subsequently when Auchinleck explained to Jinnah that in so far as Kashmir had acceded to India the Government of India had a perfect right to send troops in response to the Maharaja's request'.

'The result was in the hands of God. Men could but do or die. He would not shed a tear if the little Union force was wiped out like the Spartans bravely defending Thermopylae nor would he mind Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his Muslim, Hindu and Sikh comrades, dying at their posts in the defence of Kashmir. That would be a glorious example to the rest of India.'

—M. K. GANDHI

'Pakistan did not recognise the accession describing it as based on fraud and violence. At the Jinnah-Mountbatten meeting at Lahore the latter maintained that accession had indeed been brought about by violence but the violence came from the tribes for whom Pakistan was responsible. Jinnah's attitude to a plebiscite was conditioned by his belief that the combination of Indian troops in occupation and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in power meant that the average Muslim would be far too frightened to vote for Pakistan. Mountbatten proposed a plebiscite under U.N.O. auspices whereupon Jinnah asserted that only the two Governors-General could organise it'.

'On November 3, Nehru made a broadcast offering a United Nations controlled plebiscite for Kashmir which did not react so well in Jinnah who objected to the presence of Indian troops in Kashmir before any plebiscite could be held. Had Maharaja joined Pakistan before the transfer of power, India would not have regarded the act unfriendly, says Alan Campbell Johnson.'

'With Pakistan's knowledge India lodged an appeal with the United Nations on January 9, 1948. No attack was developed on Uri and the Indian troops there made no contact with hostile forces as that would be an event which could well touch off the wider conflict. This was meant to be avoided, the issue being subjudice before the Security Council according to Mountbatten'.

—ALAN CAMPBELL JOHNSON

Pakistan had created meanwhile an 'economic crisis' for Kashmir, in spite of Standstill Agreement with her. Sheikh Abdullah who had been released by this time stressed that it was the people's right to decide their own future. While negotiations were going on both at Lahore and Delhi about the future settlement, Muzaffarabad was raided on October 22, 1947. Trouble in Poonch had started earlier. With Brigadier Rajendra Singh making desperate stand against the raiders near Buniyar, the civil administration collapsed at the headquarters, the Peace Brigade and the National Militia* of the National Conference took up the defence crying 'Raiders beware; we Kashmiris are ready'. Baramulla fell into the enemy hands on October 26. And what happened. The Maharaja left for Jammu, leaving poor Kashmir to her own fate†. At the joint request of Hari Singh and Sheikh Abdullah India at last accepted accession on October 26 and 'decided to intervene with the armed forces of the Union' who landed in Srinagar on October 27 when raiders were sacking, burning and looting round the northern

* It is this Militia which later on became the regular army and broke the 'Gordian Knot'.

† That was a fit reward of 100 years rule.

walls of the city¹. Wave of joy again spread in the country. The raiders were driven off and Baramulla was recaptured on November 7. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was sworn in as Head of Emergency Administration on October 30. The necessities of life having been stranded at Rawalpindi the price of salt at once rose to Rs 16 per seer.²

One thing important to mention here is the Lal Chok pledge which history cannot overlook. While raiders were being driven out Jawaharlal Nehru and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah gave pledges to each other on behalf of their respective countries in presence of a huge gathering. Since 1953 there has been parting of the ways. What those pledges were and who violated them are a mystery to the common man?

With the transfer of power there appeared Halqa Presidents and Mohalla Presidents of the National Conference on the scene who assumed powers of police and magistracy. People were rounded up on suspicion for leanings towards Pakistan, Sangh and Khalsa and marched to lock-ups. This struck terror. It took weeks and months to restore law. This went on as a side show of the political drama which history should mention.

The year 1948 was a period of great pressure on home front as well as war front. The cease-fire line was ultimately drawn by which Muzaffarabad, Gilgit, Mirpur and a part of Poonch now known as 'Azad Kashmir' (occupied Kashmir) were allowed to remain with the insurgents under an over-all control of Pakistan³. Mohammad Ibrahim, Ch. Ghulam Abbas and M. Yusuf Shah held command there.

¹ It must be confessed that about 15 to 20 thousand Sikhs were massacred during the raids. At the 1941 Census they were hardly half a lakh. The Kashmiri Pandits were mostly looted and a few converted in the northern Illaqa. After the Indian Army reached Srinagar, about 15 to 20 thousand of them (say 1/4th of a lakh) left the valley. Yes, it is these Hindus and Sikhs who co-operated with the National Conference and kept the torch of Nationalism ablaze in Kashmir which greatly justified Kashmir's accession with India.

² In a separate letter dated 22-10-47 to the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, Lord Mountbatten reiterated that the Govt. of India had decided to accept the accession but it was the wish of the Govt. of India to make a reference to the people as soon as normal conditions returned.

³ Yuvak Sabha which should have looked after the Hindus who had suffered became defunct temporarily. Sudhar Samiti, a new born social organisation, instead appeared on the scene, toured the whole northern area and reclaimed all those Hindus who had been converted to Islam during the raid. It was a gigantic task to rehabilitate about ten thousand people. Kashmiri Pandit Community stirred under emotion but always lacked sound leadership. Though few in number Kashmiri Pandits being an educated community associated themselves with every rising political current in the country. This was interpreted as opportunism on their part. When Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah gave up communalism Prem Nath Bazaz and few others associated themselves with him. During his 'Quit Kashmir' campaign, Sham Lal Saraf

While Ibrahim organised revolt from Poonch the latter two joined him after partition.

On the home front, the duly constituted Government headed by eight popular Ministers* looked after refugee problem and introduced many a reform mostly agrarian¹. Canals were dug and roads constructed to increase production and promote communication. Food and other essential supplies were imported. Land was particularly passed on to the tiller. Jammu, where communal madness had shown its head, was cooled down. Jagirdari and Zamindari were liquidated. Transport Service was built up. Ejectment of tenants was stayed and moratorium was laid on non-commercial debts. The common man was in the picture and relieved. Chenani which was a jurisdictional Jagir having an area of 95 square miles and a population of 12,000 was taken over on April 5. Muqarraries amounting to about Rs 1,77,925 reverted to the State Exchequer. Co-operative movement received a further fillip and the institution of Zaildars and Nambardars was re-organised on elective basis. Emporia were established in important towns of India.

Maharaja Hari Singh went into voluntary exile and his place as constitutional head of the State was taken by his only son Yuvraj

and few others associated with him. When he started Anti-India campaign Rugh Nath Vaishnavi and few others associated with him. Dina Nath Nadim and few others associated themselves with Communists led by Ghulam Mohd. Sadiq. Such association came forth in individual capacity and Community as a whole sided with the ruling class from time to time. They had done so during the six hundred and odd years of alien rule. That is how they have been surviving.

• The Cabinet consisted of:

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------|
| 1. S. M. Abdullah | |
| 2. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad | |
| 3. M. A. Beg | |
| 4. G. M. Sadiq | |
| 5. S. L. Saraf | } Nominees |
| 6. G. L. Dogra | |
| 7. Col. Peer Mohd. | } Nominees |
| 8. S. Budh Singh | |

The last two were deleted later on.

¹ The slogan given during 'Quit Kashmir' movement that on transfer of power Ministers would attend offices on foot and would not change their residence was clean forgotten. Messrs Budh Singh, Jai Lal Kilam and Kashyap Bundhu who had announced that they would work on Rs 100 p.m. only, later claimed all arrears of pay and full grade of the post. Sardar Budh Singh even collected his pension.

Karan Singh*. This took place in 1949 when the question of Kashmir was already pending before the Security Council of the United Nations where India and Pakistan figured as complainants and defendants respectively. The five man Commission which reported failure was followed by 1. Sir Owen Dixon and 2. Dr Frank Graham, United Nations' representatives who also reported failure.

Hari Singh followed a policy which was opposed to that of his uncle. It was for show that he fixed his uncle's photo on his crown. He went out of his way to help the Rajputs. He became conscious of the inherent strength of the Muslims and the more he tried to raise their standard the more they became critical of him. As ruler he offended the Britishers. As Head of the Ruling family he did not behave well with his aunt and the Poonch branch. His own three wives died in grief. He inspired 'State Subjects Definition' which was a challenge to the people of the Punjab and all aliens. British Departmental Heads were gradually replaced by Rajput upstarts. The revenue of the State had risen to over Rs 4 crores out of which he took away more than 12½ per cent in cash and kind. 40 per cent still went out. Out of the balance 30 per cent went to Jammu and hardly 17½ per cent to Kashmir. This could not feed the growing population.

He was not accessible to his own people. He would love a polo pony more than his *ryot*. He would not trust his advisors whoever they were. Around him the times were changing at atomic speed. His gifted intelligence and acquired education did not guide him well. He never paid a visit to the far flung areas of his kingdom. Thus unrest at home and transfer of power beyond his boundary brought to end 100 years of Dogra rule. Overcome by provincial bias he once ordered fixation of headquarters at Jammu in place of Srinagar. The resentment of Kashmiris at this ludicrous move was natural. The move was dropped after a few years' sad experiment.

Sheikh Mahammad Abdullah, Lenin of Kashmir, was born in December 1905 in the family of shawl makers at Soura, 6 miles away from Srinagar. Poverty greeted him on his birth. The seeds of a revolution were sown in a simple reading room at Fateh Kadal where he and his friends met and discussed the future of Kashmir. The first storm blew across Jammu. The long waiting was exhausted and the stage set. Mr Abdullah defied tyranny when he delivered his first speech at Jamia Masjid. Since that moment he courted arrests until one day the tale echoed in the plains of the Punjab attracting persons like Iqbal at the earlier stages. First a communalist (1931), then a nationalist (1939) and later a socialist (1944) Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah

* Hari Singh had developed strained relations with his wife. Shri Karan Singh, his only son, agreed to work for the state. Thus Hari Singh lost all—his kingdom, his wife and son. He lived the rest of his life mostly in Bombay where his only hobby was horse breeding and his only entertainment horse races.

rode a high horse. To such a man, Jinnah and his hymn of hate could have no attraction. His instinct took him towards Nehru and his hymn of love. But he was not prepared to go whole hog.

On coming to power what did he do? He installed an University and a Radio Station to spread education and to promote culture. The ancient Kashmir was once again put on the cultural map of India. In the eyes of some he is a Muslim as Gandhiji was a Hindu.

The greatest achievement of Sh. Mohammad Abdullah was the convening of the sovereign Constituent Assembly for the State which met in October 1951, seventy-five members of which were returned on basis of adult suffrage and joint electorates*. But only one political party fought elections. The Assembly took bold decisions, refused compensation to landlords, abolished hereditary rule and designed a new State flag and emblem.

About 150,000 absentee landlords were made to surrender 4,500,000 kanals of land. The Text Book Advisory Board evolved a common script (Persian Arabic-Nasakh Style) which has not become popular though.

Girls' Colleges were established. The Transport Service commands a fleet of 400 vehicles. Debts amounting to about six crores of rupees were liquidated. Hundreds of Multi-Purpose Co-operative Societies for distribution of necessities of life were established throughout the State.

Zainpur canal (50,000 acres), Sumbal canal (5,000 acres), Mawar canal (4,000 acres), Kishtwar canal (5,000 acres) and Udhampur canal (24,000 acres) are under construction. The Sind Valley Hydro-Electric Project to irrigate 2,000 acres and to produce 13,000 kwts of electricity is now complete. This Project was conceived in 1942, a token beginning was made in 1946 and actual work was redoubled after 1955. Two generators have already been installed and two more are to be installed. The project has cost Rs 2.75 lakhs. The present yield is 6,000 kwts. President of India congratulated Kashmir while performing its opening ceremony.

B.C.G. team of the World Health Organization vaccinated more than a lakh of people against chest diseases. Five years were earmarked for vaccination of entire population. Flood control bunds have been erected by Co-operative effort. Before the Second World War the revenue of the State never exceeded Rs 2,50,00,000. It rose to Rs. 5,75,00,000 by 1945. It dropped to Rs 2,74,00,000 in 1947. In 1951 it was estimated to be Rs 4,57,00,000. About 4 lakh kanals of cultivable land were made available to speed up production.

While all this is said the impartial historian cannot suppress the other side of the picture. As popular administration continued on

* Kashmir 45, Jammu 30,—Muslims 48, Pandits 3, Sikhs 3, Dogras 10, Buddhists 1, Kargil Shias 1. The elections admittedly were not free and fair. The resentment simply went under ground.

mass discontent also stepped up. This is not so much due to Indo-Pakistan controversy as it is due to taxation, corruption, unemployment, high prices and security measures. While prices have shot up four to eight times incomes have not correspondingly increased. The Government itself raised the price of shali from Rs 8.25 to Rs 10.50 per khirwar. It is on the price of this staple food that prices of other commodities revolve. Taxation at the base hardly goes long way to balance a budget*.

Extracts from Mehar Chand Mahajan's (Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir during the fateful period of 1947) diary:

'Jinnah's British Military Secretary came thrice to Srinagar with letters from Jinnah to persuade Maharaja Hari Singh to accede to Pakistan. Jinnah's Private Secretary was in Srinagar for a number of weeks creating hatred against India. Maharaja Hari Singh had already declined Jinnah's desire to spend summer in Kashmir as Governor-General of Pakistan. Standstill Agreement was signed with Pakistan before 15th August. (According to R. C. Kak no such agreement was signed upto 12th August). Mountbatten in his three days visit to Kashmir hinted at Kashmir's accession with Pakistan both to Maharaja Hari Singh and Mehar Chand Mahajan. (This is confirmed by R. C. Kak to whom Mountbatten had said—you must consider your geographical position, your political situation and the composition of your population and then decide). (Mehar Chand Mahajan had taken over on 15th October). Chitral and Hunza had wired their loyalty to the Maharaja but at the same time pleaded State's accession with Pakistan. Major Shah compelled me to see him. He had accession draft in one hand and sword in another. This was Pakistan speaking. Then came trade blockade, communal frenzy in Jammu, border raids. Jammu mosque was fortified and a plan was hatched to kidnap the Maharaja and abduct M. C. Mahajan at Bhimber Dak bungalow but it was frustrated as the Maharaja changed his programme on the way. The raid was initially organised by Ex-Army Officers. The British Commander-in-Chief had mal-distributed the State forces which weakened defence against the raid that came on 23rd October. There was no reply available to the request for help and the Accession Deed on 24th and 25th October. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah himself took a plane flight to Delhi on 25th October. Jinnah made a programme to celebrate I'd at Srinagar. His Commander-in-Chief pushed two brigades on 27th October via Sialkot and Rawalpindi. Indian troops were also flown on 27th morning. This halted Pakistani brigades. Delhi took this decision on 26th. M. C. Mahajan and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who were on the spot agreed for such a decision. If this decision had not been taken M.C. Mahajan was instructed to surrender

* It must be admitted that Sh. Abdullah's administration could not carry along the District of Ladakh and the Province of Jammu.

to Pakistan on 25th October when suddenly Menon came who advised the Maharaja to leave for Jammu and M.C. Mahajan for Delhi. Thus was the State saved and the war between the two dominions averted'.

According to R. C. Kak the policy of his government was that Kashmir should accede neither to India nor to Pakistan but should execute Standstill Agreement with both to meet the needs of the immediate future.

'I would crave the indulgence of the House if I delve into the history of Jammu and Kashmir before 1947 and soon after that. We find that from times immemorial Kashmir has been a part of India excepting for a short period when it came under the Afghan sway in the early part of the nineteenth century. It was the brave Sikh ruler of the Punjab, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who reconquered Kashmir for India, and later on the Dogras took over in 1846.

'The Dogra rulers were always patriotic and they conquered Ladakh in 1824 and Gilgit soon after that, and brought them into the map of India. They gave good and stable government to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. I might recollect with great pleasure on this occasion that it was Maharaja Hari Singh who kept up the family tradition and the flag of Jammu and Kashmir flying high up when he spoke at the First Round Table Conference in 1930. When Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Secretary of State for India, opposed the move of independence for India on the plea that His Majesty's Government had given solemn assurances to the Indian Princes to keep their integrity in tact. It was Maharaja Hari Singh, who at that time as Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, spoke in London some time between the 12th November 1930 and 19th January 1931.

'As allies of British, we stand solidly behind the British connection. As Indians and loyal to the land whence we derive our birth and infant nurture, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our land's enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth of Nations.'

'It was a period when very few of the Princes could ever dare to use such words in favour of the independence of India. It was later on really a bad turn of destiny that this patriotic son of Jammu and Kashmir made a mistake by not joining India before 15th August 1947, in spite of the advice of Mahatmaji and Acharya Kripalani, the then President of All India National Congress. But it should not be forgotten that it was never the intention of the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir to join Pakistan, in spite of the machinations of Mr. Jinnah through Colonel Webb, the then British Resident who was hand in glove with the creator of Pakistan. It was the then Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Rao Bahadur Ram Chandra Kak and his Scotch wife that were the instruments of Colonel Webb to influence the Maharaja.

'It is known that the later events made the Maharaja give up his dream of being an independent ruler like the Nizam of Hyderabad due to the invasion by Pakistan on the Kashmir territory and made him request for help from India to stem the invasion, that was a threat to the four million people of Jammu and Kashmir. His accession to India at that time was an event which was hailed as an act of patriotism by all sections of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, and it was also considered a step in the right direction. Thus, a new chapter opened in the history of Jammu and Kashmir.

'It is pertinent for me to point out here that the leader of the National Conference, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah himself, supported the Maharaja in his move to accede to India with a view to achieve the ideals for which the National Conference struggled for many years namely, responsible Government of a secular nature as an integral part of India. The National Conference confirmed this action of the Maharaja and the decision of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in their election manifesto. The official seal of this decision was given by the President of India on May 14, 1954'.

LAKSHMAN SINGH CHARAK
(*Lok Sabha Debate* 27-9-1954)

(That Ram Chandra Kak influenced Hari Singh in favour of independence is against facts. It was Swami Sant Dev, the Raj Guru, who inspired Hari Singh. Swami Sant Dev and Ram Chandra Kak did not see eye to eye with each other.)

Though fanaticism has still survived in the land there are also possibilities of Kashmir turning red in the near future. It is becoming explosive day by day.

The U.N.O. has made Kashmir into gun-powder magazine which may burst any moment. The longer a fair solution is delayed the worse it is, not only for Kashmir but for the whole world. The findings of the Security Council during the last twelve years have repeatedly reported a failure.

Prime Ministers during Hari Singh's reign:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. Sir Albion Banerjee | —he sent mulkis for foreign trainings. 'Kashmiris are hewers of wood, drawers of water and tillers of land'. |
| 2. G. E. C. Wokefield* | —he instigated Hindu-Muslim tension. |
| 3. Raja Hari Krishen Kaul | —he saved Hari Singh. |

* Sir Barjor Dalal also officiated for some time he held Durbars.

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|--------------------------------|--|
| 4. Col. E. J. D. Colvin | —Gilgit was his problem. |
| 5. Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar | —he was an iron man. |
| 6. Sir B. N. Rao | —he dreamed of Kashmir turning into Paradise. |
| 7. Sir K. N. Haksar | —he was 'old wine put in new bottle'. |
| 8. Sir Maharaj Singh | —he was a sportsman but non-serious. |
| 9. R. C. Kak | —he was more loyal than the king. |
| 10. Janak Singh | —the state was over run. |
| 11. R. L. Batra | —he organised R.S.S. |
| 12. Mehar Chand Mahajan | —he marched to put down revolt in Poonch with wooden sticks. |
| 13. S. M. Abdullah | —he bargained. |

Prime Ministers since 1953:

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad | —opportunist and realist in action. |
| 2. Shsmas-ud-Din | —His Master's Voice. |
| 3. G. M. Sadiq | —Democracy is my hobgoblin. |

MODERN PERIOD

KARAN SINGH

Shree Dr. Karan Singh Ji was born in the city of Cannes (South of France) on 9th March 1931. He received most of his primary education at home, although he attended the Presentation Convent college in Srinagar for two seasons. In 1942, at the age of 11, he was sent to the Doon School, Dehra Dun. He graduated from J. & K. University in 1951, again as a private candidate passed M.A. from Delhi University in 1957. On June 20, 1949 he took over as Regent of the State. He was married in Bombay to Princess Yasho Rajya Lakshmi, grand-daughter of His Highness Maharaja Mohan Shamsheer Jung Bahadur, Rana of Nepal.

The State Assembly unanimously elected him as the first Sadar-i-Riyasat on 14th November 1952. The new flag and the new emblem were also publicly adopted on this day under Indo-Kashmir agreement of 1952. He was re-elected Sadar-i-Riyasat on November 6, 1957 and functioned also as Chancellor of J. & K. University.

The people of Jammu led by Praja Parishad launched a satyagraha movement immediately after the above decisions were implemented which spread throughout the Province. There was a mob violence also on various occasions and at various places which resulted in firing. The agitation demonstrated that the people of Jammu were not with the people of Kashmir, in spite of India's common link. The movement received momentum when later on Hindu Mahasabha, Jan Sangh and Ram Rajya Parishad supported it. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, President Jan Sangh, entered the State without obtaining a permit. He was taken into custody on the border and removed to a villa in Nishat Bagh (Kashmir) where he died as a detenu. Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru at last made an appeal for the withdrawal of the agitation but the wrong was already done. The movement was, however, formally withdrawn in July 1953.

It is many a local grievance which led to the agitation. The Dogra pride had been stirred up. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had repeatedly referred to Jammu massacre of 1947 in his public speeches. Durga Dass mounted to the same fame as underground leader as Mohi-ud-Din (Kara) had mounted during the 'Quit Kashmir' movement in 1946*. Praja Parishad agitation did not go unnoticed in Kashmir where for the first time since 1947 pro-Pakistan slogans were publicly raised. A fresh chapter was opened in the history of Kashmir when on August 8, Sadar-i-Riyasat dismissed Sheikh Mohammad

* Just as Kashmir Movement made Sher-i-Kashmir of S. M. Abdullah Parishad agitation also made Sher-i-Dogar of Prem Nath Dogra.

Abdullah and appointed Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad as Prime Minister who took over on August 9*. Of late Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who was mentally confused all along was planning to drift away from India subtly to carve out an Independent State of Kashmir with or without Jammu. While arguing the case privately or publicly Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah desired complete internal autonomy for the State which others interpreted as independence. This created a rift in the Cabinet as well as in the National Conference High Command. There was a stir in the Valley but it was soon over-come†. Bakhshi Government at once announced many salutary reforms such as abolition of 40-years-old mujwaza (compulsory levy), reduction in the price of shali; free education upto post-graduate standard, reduction in Abiana, reorganisation of Government services, abolition of customs duty from 1954, extension of co-operative credits, appointment of Public Services Commission etc. The new Government also ratified Indo-Kashmir Agreement of 1951 after it was unanimously voted by the Constituent Assembly on February 6, 1954 as part of the Constitution still on the anvil. It was a bold step since the Kashmir problem had not yet been solved through the good offices of United Nations Organisation. What followed from this was (a) financial integration with India; (b) internal autonomy; (c) amendment of State Subjects' Definition of 1927 entitling every one to become a State subject after ten years of continuous residence in the State; (d) formal transfer of ceded and centrally administered subjects to India.

Three incidents are quoted here:

- (a) As Information Officer I moved with Abdullah on his tours. He did say to the people—'I will not sell you. You have to take a decision about accession not only for yourselves but for coming generations. That opportunity will be given to you. I will not influence your verdict. I will only give my advice if asked for'.

• The new cabinet consisted of:

1. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad.
2. G. M. Sadiq.
3. Mir Qasim.
4. Shyam Lal Saraf.
5. Girdhari Lal Dogra.

Nos. 2, 3 and 5 inclined
towards Communism.

† Immediately after his dismissal Sh. Mohammad Abdullah was put under arrest and removed to Udampur. Later on he was taken to Kud. As a detenu he received all facilities from the Government and was well looked after.

It was revealed some time in January 1955 that the plan to dismiss Abdullah was matured immediately after the withdrawal of Praja Parishad agitation, that is to say, months before his arrest. This revelation is significant. He was being closely watched since he told an American journalist in 1949 that he would not rule out independence for Kashmir and later in 1952 condemned India's policy *vis-à-vis* Kashmir in a public speech at Ranbirsingh Pura.

- (b) Both Abdullah and Bakhshi had addressed a public meeting in Jammu. I had emphasised Abdullah's speech. When I took the draft of Press Note to Abdullah for approval he remarked—'put more emphasis on Bakhshi's speech'.
- (c) I heard Abdullah speaking from a platform before taking over as Administrator: 'These outside ministers move in cars from bungalows to offices. When we get power we shall stay in our own homes and attend offices on foot'.

When power came it was otherwise. Bungalows were requisitioned and cadalac cars ordered.

Tests of Abdullah's leadership:

- (a) He broke the Gordian Knot in 1931—rose in rebellion.
- (b) He converted Muslim Conference into National Conference in 1938.
- (c) He started 'Quit Kashmir' movement in 1946.
- (d) He endorsed Kashmir's accession with India in 1947 giving a blow to Pakistan.
- (e) He demanded plebiscite for people in 1953 already assured.
- (f) He crossed to Pakistan in 1946 for a settlement.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was born in a poor family at Nawa Kadal. His father was a petty tailor and his mother an 'aya'. Bakhshi went to school but could not cross Matriculation bar. In his early age he accepted a teacher's job in the frontier illaqa and became a Christian also for some time. He struggled hard with many jobs and finally plunged into politics in 1931 under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah whom he accepted as sixth 'ceman'. Luck favoured him through and through.

Bakhshi diagnosed the disease which was eating into the vitals of the society like a cancer. The disease was scarcity and high price of food stuffs, small pays, growing taxes, costly education, debts, muj-waza and what not. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah probably wanted to use mass discontent as a trump card in favour of independence.* To say he was blind to this is to do him injustice†. Bakhshi turned the

* Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah suggested (a) to make the valley of Kashmir a fully autonomous unit—India and Pakistan jointly taking over defence, foreign affairs and communications; (b) India and Pakistan to guarantee the independence of Kashmir; (c) an over-all plebiscite to be held under the supervision of India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Soviet Russia and China; (d) free and fair plebiscite to be conducted under supervision of members of the Security Council. It suggested a change in his own stand as well.

† It may be that Abdullah had endorsed the accession deed in hot haste. As days rolled by and as realities stared him in face he gave indications of a waverer. He was on the horns of a dilemma. Sometimes he was thinking

corner. But armies of India and Pakistan are still facing each other across the Cease Fire Line as they have been since 1948. Kashmir is the apple of discord. What is coming ahead baffles even surmise. And yet it is no bed of roses for Bakhshi so long as Abdullah is under detention.¹

In spite of huge economic and educational projects undertaken by Bakhshi Government the revenue of the State mounted to Rs 5.5 crores for 1954-55 turning the deficit of 34 lakhs into surplus by fiscal integration with the Government of India which extended a grant of Rs 250 lakhs to the State. Since 1947 when the State acceded to India the total loan obtained from India amounted to 8 crores and 63 lakhs.² This was necessary to adjust the reduced revenue of the State to increased demands. Over and above this there came a huge aid also and yet the economic distress mounted up. The leadership was tried and it was found wanting. A University Degree is not necessarily the key to success. Bakhshi apparently proved a greater success than Abdullah*. Even a backward district like Ladakh received a fair deal and her representative was taken into the Cabinet.

aloud. During his internal conflict Mirza Afzal Beg was his conscience keeper. Abdullah did once say from a public platform 'I will not sell you. Time is coming when you may have to forego luxuries of a square-meal but I shall not beg or borrow from a party which will exploit us.'

¹ It was a political Coup-de-tat which brought Bakhshi to power. Simultaneously with the arrest of Abdullah all his alleged supporters were rounded up. The action taken by Sadar-i-Riyasat was later on ratified by the Constituent Assembly. According to unofficial reports, highly exaggerated, about 1,200 to 1,500 persons were killed following the coup but according to the official reports there were only 36 deaths. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had lost confidence of his cabinet of which he was Prime Minister, not of the House of which he was leader. Sadar-i-Riyasat's action was based on a law that was subsequently recognised by the Constitution. Practical politics warranted this course only under the circumstances.

Simultaneously sprang into prominence a near relation of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad—Abdur Rashid—who became a de-facto controller of the political situation.

² Loan ...	...	...	...	Rs.	8,63,05,000
Aid ...	...	...	...	„	6,33,58,000
Jammu Pathankot Road ...	...	...	...	„	3,24,00,000
Development Schemes ...	...	...	...	„	2,33,80,000
Total					20,54,43,000

The loan rose to Rs 9,61,05,000 upto 1955. It was Rs. 5,93,55,000 during Abdullah regime.

* The National Conference is the ruling party in the State. Abdullah had continued to be its chief. After his fall Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad stepped into his place as the leader of the nation. Apart from politics, hot temper and

A high altitude cosmic rays research observatory was formally inaugurated on April 4, 1954 at Gulmarg (9,000 ft. high) under the joint auspices of the Universities of Kashmir and Aligarh thus reviving the ancient intellectual integration between India and Kashmir.

The advantage of a high altitude station was that the number of cosmic ray events of different types increased rapidly as we rose higher in the atmosphere and it, therefore, became possible to study the newer events in a reasonable length of time. Some phenomena were only found in the uppermost layers of the atmosphere, and those could only be studied with the use of balloon-borne equipment.

Other phenomena could only be studied by the use of heavier and more elaborate precision apparatus and a high altitude station was essential for such work so that rare events could be recorded for sufficiently long periods to enable quantitative conclusions to be drawn.

After discussing the merits and demerits of the various sites, the Tangmarg-Gulmarg-Khilanmarg-Apharwat group was found quite suitable from the point of view of location. Two proposals are in hand:

1. A high altitude cosmic ray research station should be established at Khilanmarg, provided it can be connected by ropeway with Gulmarg. The station would provide basic facilities for cosmic ray workers from all parts of India to carry out their experiments. It would also provide limited facilities to workers in other branches of science, such as Physiology and astrophysics.

2. A firm of experts should be asked to make a preliminary survey and cost estimates of connecting Gulmarg with Khilanmarg; Gulmarg with Tangmarg and Khilanmarg with Apharwat by wire ropeway, so designed as to form a continuous connection when all links were completed.

Jammu turned en fete during the four days visit of President of India in April 1954 who was greeted with nation building projects such as Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Boulevard round the Tawi, widened old Bhabra bazar, Gandhi Bhawan etc. His first official visit to Srinagar in 1950 had provided a similar fillip to Kashmir. These visits are unlike the visits of former British Viceroys. Previously the host used to be the Maharaja. Now the hosts are people. The previous hospitality laid greater stress on catering, shikar and presents. Jammu had never known such an Exhibition before. Replying to an address of welcome presented by Jammu Municipality the President of India, Dr Rajendra Prasad, said that the history and mutual understanding

haughtiness worked against Abdullah. The manner in which he treated R. C. Kak and compelled Hari Singh to voluntary exilement make sad episodes not worthy of one who made history. Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru who would make many a trip to Kashmir every year did not come even once since May 1953 to 1957. Why? Abdullah shook his confidence. Nehru kept his word given in the shakehand at Lal Chowk when the Indian Army took up the defence in 1947.

had cemented the ancient ties between Kashmir and India to such an extent that any break in the relationship was inconceivable.

India all along made it clear that she would abide by plebiscite she had voluntarily offered provided: (a) The lawful administration of the State was recognized. (b) Pakistan withdrew her forces from occupied part of the State. (c) Refugees returned to homes and were rehabilitated. (d) Normal conditions prevailed. (e) Plebiscite administrator nominated by U.N.O. was appointed by the legal government of the State. (f) Aggression by Pakistan was admitted. Since no final agreement was reached between India and Pakistan on these issues and since American Military Aid to Pakistan changed the entire context India backed out of her pledge under force of circumstances that the need for a plebiscite did no longer exist. Development projects in the meanwhile had already carried the State forward. There are other factors also which lowered Abdullah's prestige in public eye—hot temper, lust for power and wrong company. A few Kashmiri Pandit adventurers in politics who exploited the situation in 1946 for their own ends were pushed into power by him*. Abdullah of 1953 was a changed man from Abdullah of 1946, politically as well as mentally. And when he was arrested, sinners at once changed sides and he was left in wilderness. Muslims for whom he essentially toiled had turned backs against him.

The customs barrier between India and the State was removed from April 13 giving way to octroi duty chargeable on weight. Goods coming from abroad entered in the State under bond. It yielded a revenue of over one crore of rupees. This included the amount payable from various departments in State account. The Government of India made this loss good having already included it in the 250 lakh grant. This gave a great relief to the people after a period of about 18 years.

Karan Singh's birth abroad was simultaneously followed by popular uproar at home. As he grew up he saw the throne shaking. But he is unlike his father. He has no vice. He has adjusted himself to the changed environment. Though he has lost all claim to hereditary rule he has not lost all chances of a bright career.

The revenues of the State have exceeded five crores. India to which Kashmir has acceded is giving enormous aid in cash and kind which has brought about a great change in the economic condition of the people.

Both Abdullah and Bakhshi received aid. During Abdullah's time much of it did not reach masses. But during Bakhshi's time the quantity of aid was greater and a larger percentage did reach the masses through labour etc. If the total aid in the shape of loan or free gift had been well utilized it would have brought about a great change in

* They were Zutshi, Aima, Raina, Watt, Shangloo, Peshin, Dhar, Saraf Kilam, Bundhu etc.

the country. The expenditure was not scrutinized. The plan was not whetted. As in India the first Five-Year Plan was completed with the close of 1955. About Rs 1274.15 lakhs mostly contributed by India were spent which did some spade work in the development of the country. While money was freely circulating there grew up an organisation known as Plebiscite Front which demanded plebiscite in the State. It did not attract much notice, the ruling party being opposed to it. Only pro-Abdullah elements sponsored and fanned it. The greatest event of the year was the visit of Russian leaders—Bulganin and Khrushchev*. When they stated that Kashmir was a part of India and 'the present boundary need not be altered' the so-called Plebiscite Front received a great set-back and the people continued hoping against hope.

Like India Kashmir also stepped into the new year heralding the Second Five-Year Plan with an ambitious project of Rs 51 crores and 27 lakhs mainly contributed by India. The emphasis was laid mostly on education, agriculture and industry. Two bridges—one at Sonwar and the other at Maisuma, raised the figure of already seven bridges to nine in the city.

Municipal elections under the new Constitution were conducted both at Srinagar and at Jammu after a period of about 17 years. A keen contest was noticed but the ruling party finally won. These elections were earlier preceded by Town Area elections in rural areas where also keen contest was noticed.

Again, all speculations were laid at rest when Jawahar Lal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, declared that no useful purpose would be served by holding a plebiscite in Kashmir, since Pakistan had accepted military aid from America and become a party to SEATO and Baghdad Pacts and that she was not prepared to accept any plea advanced by India whether within United Nations Organisation or without it. Not only this. Nehru also stated subsequently that Chitral, Hunza, Nagar, Punial and Yasin were still part of the State. This silenced the people inside though it caused some flutter outside. The issue is still hanging until the other party also closes the chapter.

* 'The trip to Kashmir is interesting to us because of the speciality of nature in Kashmir and the richness of the original culture of her people. The art of her folk, craftsmen and artisans have brought world fame to Kashmir.'

'The trip to Kashmir is also interesting to us, representatives of the Soviet people, because Kashmir lies close to our country. We have in the past always had trade relations with Kashmir'.

'We would like to utilize our visit to Kashmir for getting acquainted with the life of the people of Kashmir, with their rich original culture and their achievements'.

—BULGANIN

'It is well-known that a change of boundaries is always painful and does not take place without violence and bloodshed. The question of Kashmir as one of the states of the Republic of India has already been decided by the people of Kashmir. This is the people's own affair'.

—KHRUSHCHEV

With the growing of schools and colleges in the State and subsequently spread of education under an indigenous University the State became rejuvenated culturally. Poetry, drama, music, research, literature, dance and what not received a great impetus. Old order changed. Broadcasting continued to attract classes as well as masses from both sexes. With the introduction of broadcasting in 1947-1948 illiterate girls were prevailed upon to come and sing and now educated girls come forward to offer their co-operation. Similar is the case with sport. Olympic games become popular day by day.

The city today is immensely changed—many roads widened, new houses erected and congestion mostly removed. Money being abundant compensation is paid several times the actual cost. People are heard whispering B.B.C. meaning Bakhshi Brothers Corporation whose slogan is—make hay while the sun shines. People are also heard talking against imported rice which sells at 25 p. per seer and salt because these come from India. The old economics of Kashmir devolved on 'Shali, Shawl, Shalgam and Shitara' and cheap rice should have revolutionised the entire market but no, the shoe is on the other leg. It is also a trait of Kashmiri character to find fault with those who are in power. Foreign yoke for over 600 years has developed many vices in the whole race. It is Abdullah who projected Kashmir to India. Bakhshi only cemented integration in the interest of both Kashmir and India. And Bakhshi did no wrong to Muslims in any walk of life—services, trade, labour, art and what not. If some people call him a traitor who pushed out his leader they are unfair. Sometimes the leader and the follower can also differ on a vital issue.

India did not give only aid and loan to Kashmir but did all that was possible to promote the economic condition of the people. Indians were pushed to Kashmir as visitors, official conferences were scheduled in Kashmir—even a special sitting of the Supreme Court was held at Srinagar and surveys were conducted. All this helped to build up the economy of the country. Some offices like the Information Centre and Mineral Survey were opened in the State to further cement the accession. The policy of India was to feed the people, educate them rightly, raise their moral and material standard and possibly not to colonise them. Contrary to the expectation this policy did not produce the desired effect. Love for India is wanting in many a heart. The non-Muslims submitted to the inevitable all along since the raid. The secular policy of India was on trial in Kashmir. Viewed from all aspects Kashmir stands as a unique instance which has baffled statesmen and politicians and defies all approaches to a fair solution. It should be no job of a historian to predict coming events. An armed conflict between India and Pakistan to decide the Kashmir issue cannot be ruled out unless a miracle happens which may bring about the settlement.

August 9 was being observed as a jubilation day since 1953 by pro-Abdullah element. But this year the National Conference itself observed it as the deliverance day. There was illumination throughout.

September 9, 1956 will go down in history as a landmark day. On this morning the first vehicle passed through the new tunnel near about lower Munda thus linking Kashmir with India. The work on this tunnel was started in 1953 by German Engineers. The tunnel is one of the six longest tunnels of the world. It has cost over three crores. The tube about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile long (8, 120 ft.), 18 ft.-high and 14 feet wide has been bored at a height of 7,000 feet. It has shortened distance between Srinagar and Pathankot by about 20 miles and saved time by about two hours. Before this Banihal used to remain closed to traffic from December to April. Now it remains open throughout the year. The second tube also has been completed by now. Such a tunnel was considered an impossibility before, credit for this achievement goes to India which sponsored the scheme and German Engineers who accomplished the feat at minimum cost and in shortest possible time. The winter immediately following witnessed through traffic for the first time in history.

The month of September 1956 was celebrated as 'Festival of Kashmir' throughout the province. It was indeed a cultural, lingual and social gala month. Kashmiri, Dogri, Ladakhi and Bhadarwahi life was illustrated through drama, dance, poetry, sport and music. Politically it diverted the attention of the people from growing prices. Every item of programme was over shadowed by fun and frivolity where sobriety had no entrance. At any rate the idea was to attract visitors and provide recreation on a large scale. Government spent Rs 2,40,000 on this.

For the first time since the raids, a draft constitution for the State was placed before the Constituent Assembly on September 10th at Srinagar providing (a) elective office of Sadar-i-Riyasat subject to approval by the President of India (b) two houses—one consisting of 100 members (25 reserved for occupied area) and the other of 36 members $\frac{1}{3}$ to return after three years—11 each for Jammu and Kashmir, 8 returned by teachers and Town Area Constituencies and 6 nominated by Sadar-i-Riyasat (c) adult franchise—minimum age 21 years (d) Auditor-General, Public Services Commission, Advocate-General, Independent High Court of Judicature, (e) Financial Integration (f) Urdu as State language while Kashmiri, Dogri, Ladakhi and Bhaderwahi as regional languages. During the same session Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad announced a dearness allowance for State employees whose pay ranged from Rs 30 to Rs 300 p.m. with retrospective effect from April involving an annual expenditure of about sixty lakhs of rupees. This provided relief to over 40,000 people.

A jeepable road to Leh via Kargil and electrification of the town by utilizing the waters of the Indus are under way*. The monasteries are likely to receive cash grants equal to rent to enable land reforms to be extended to Ladakh as well. The prohibition of polyandry there

* The road has been thrown open.

is in itself a great social reform. Air service was established on September 28, 1955.

1,63,300 maunds of wheat, 4,91,522 maunds of rice and 3,58,884 maunds of paddy were imported during one year. 8,000 acres of dry land were brought under paddy cultivation through lift irrigation near Sangam. 15,000 maunds of sulphate ammonia were distributed among the farmers. Educational institutions rose to 1,820 and expenditure thereon to Rs 70.31 lakhs. Mobile schools function for Gujjars and Bakarwals. Expenditure on health has gone up by 75 per cent. Carpet, namda, tweed, khadi received great fillip. Paper and cardboard, paints and chemicals, bamboo furniture and tanning industries etc. are being organised on a large scale.

About 19 lakh kanals stand transferred among two lakh tillers. Besides 13 lakh kanals belonging to Government are being distributed among refugees and landless tillers. Co-operative debts amounting to over 35 lakhs were remitted. The rural debt has come down from about two crores to less than a crore. In the Second Five-Year Plan Rs 12 crores were earmarked for the Kandi Canal Scheme in Jammu which remained neglected so far.

Maisuma Bridge was named Badshah Bridge and its opening ceremony was performed on 24th October 1956 by Sadar-i-Riyasat Shri Karan Singh. The bridge is 285 feet long and 40 feet wide and has cost Rs 15,66,000.

Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg and his eight colleagues who were released week earlier walked out of the Constituent Assembly where draft constitution bill was under discussion on the directive of the Plebiscite Front which is still breathing. The Constitution was unanimously passed on 17th November. Out of 10 members of the Plebiscite Front one joined the National Conference (Mr Abdul Gani Goni from Doda district). The members (66 out of 75) put their seal on the Constitution on 19th November. There was State-wide jubilation and prayers were offered at the 1931 Martyrs Grave-Yard. There was an illumination look all round. If R. C. Kok could earlier snatch away Mian Ahmed Yar Khan from the National Conference, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad also could snatch away Mr Abdul Gani Goni from the Plebiscite Front as he did Mr Durga Das from the Praja Parishad a short while before. People have a price which power and money can bid for.

25th January (1957) took the State nine years back when the fresh resolution of the Security Council passed on 24th was announced reiterating that the final disposition of the State would be made through free and impartial plebiscite under United Nations auspices in continuation of its previous resolution dated April 21, 1948; June 3, 1948; March 14, 1950 and March 30, 1951. Widespread protests followed throughout India. According to Government of India the accession was completed in 1947 and Pakistan had committed aggression in Kashmir and unless these two basic facts were accepted there could be

no further discussion. The Security Council passed another resolution on February 21, sponsored by four nations, requesting Mr Gunnar Jarring of Sweden to examine any proposals which would contribute towards settlement of dispute having regard to all its previous resolutions and report back not later than April 15. The proposal for the use of U.N. force and demilitarisation prior to plebiscite was turned down by Russia.

While people watched the movement of Mr. Gunnar Jarring across the border during the month of March (1957) they had a busy time on this side of the border where second general election since 1947 was due. National Conference, Praja Parishad, Praja Socialist Party and Independents were in the field. Out of 75 seats election for 5 and 2 was held in the last week of May due to snow in Doda and Ladakh districts. Kashmir Province mostly featured with unopposed returns and Jammu with keen contest. While about 75 per cent votes were polled in Jammu hardly about 50 per cent were polled in Kashmir. The results were National Conference 61+7, Praja Parishad 5, Independent 1, Harijan Mandal 1. The leader of Praja Parishad lost in south Jammu and Speaker of the Assembly, a candidate of National Conference, in Khanayar Nawakadal Constituency.

Jarring report was out before the end of April. Two main points featured in the Report. He stated that if plebiscite were at all held grave problems might arise. 'I could not fail to take notice of the concern expressed in connection with changing political, economic and strategic factors surrounding the whole Kashmir question together with the changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia'. This came under Security Council resolution on January 5, 1949. To resolve differences between India and Pakistan under Security Council resolution of August 13, 1948, arbitration was suggested which was accepted by the later and rejected by the former. The report was again a failure.

Rains which usually end in March continued upto end of May which hit hard local economy. Fruit, oilseeds, rice, maize, wheat crops were adversely affected. The rains had forty times greater radio active count than that due to cosmic ray action. Introduction of decimal coinage into the country with effect from April in the same year and the reception given to new coins brought Kashmir still nearer to India fiscally also.

Results of election to the Legislative Council consisting of 36 members held on 26th June and subsequently were as under:

- (a) Eight by election; one each by the constituencies of local authorities and teachers in Jammu and Kashmir.
- (b) Two by each two member constituencies of Panchayats of Jammu and Kashmir.
- (c) Twenty two seats—eleven for Jammu and eleven for Kashmir elected by Jammu and Kashmir Assembly.
- (d) Six nominated by Sadar-i-Riyasat.

Kashmir was not only seat of learning but centre of Philosophy in times of yore. Shaiva philosophy has had its birth here. It was in fitness of things that the All-India Philosophical Congress chose to hold its 32nd Session in Srinagar on June 16. Shri Karan Singh told the Congress to interpret fundamental truths taught by religions as the world was faced with danger that progress of science created. Dr G. P. Malalassakera of Ceylon, President World Buddhist Federation who presided over the session, stated that Panch Sheela constitution constituted a challenge from Asia to the world. Already 25 countries constituting 3/5ths of the world's population had accepted these five principles of co-existence, enunciated by the Buddha, 2,500 years ago and which Kashmir Bhikshus propounded elsewhere.

The elections to both houses were complete by the middle of July. Some contests such as teachers' constituencies revealed a trend towards Leftism. Out of the total strength of 111 members at least 12 could be safely counted as Leftists. Then came the election of the leader and the formation of the cabinet. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was unanimously elected leader. All National Conference nominees to the Legislative Council were elected. Among the six nominations by Sadar-i-Riyasat, while backward classes received representation and defeated ex-Speaker found accommodation, art and literature were neglected. The two houses met on July 26 when the cabinet was also announced. From the cabinet formed after the raids only two ministers survived. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad himself and Shyam Lal Saraf. Many old comrades were dropped and new blood introduced. The Assembly had for the first time two opposition groups—one led by Praja Parishad and the other by the Communist Block who formed progressive wing within the National Conference. G. M. Sadiq was associated with the freedom struggle from the beginning and the Cabinet from 1947. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's 1957 Cabinet consisted of:

1. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad.
2. Shyam Lal Saraf.
3. Dina Nath Mahajan.
4. Ghulam Mohammad Rajpuri.
5. Shams-ud-Din.
6. Kotwal Chuni Lal.
7. Vacant*.

Plus six Ministers of State—a team unparalleled in local annals.

The two Houses were addressed by Sadar-i-Riyasat on 27th July. The address outlined the new Cabinet's policy which assured still greater integration with India. But it did not augur all well because of internal faction between Leftists and Rightists so much so that six of the former tendered resignation from the governing body of the

* Mr Asad Ullah Mir was appointed a Minister later.

National Conference. This organisation was adulterated by mixing up elements that opposed it before 1947 such as a former Minister, a former I.G. Police, a former communal leader, an agent of former administration and so on. Two more resignations from the governing body and country-wide resignations from the organisation followed which created widespread flutter and headed for a trouble. Growing high prices, corruption and personality cult gave support to the Leftists' bid for an overhaul.

1957 Budget of the State rose to Rs 765,70 lakhs with the imposition of a few taxes. The claim of the budget being surplus was rejected by critics who discovered a deficit of Rs 3 crores.

The flood in August crossed the highest recorded level of 1950. While it caused immense loss to the rural area, the city was saved by raised bunds and digging and widening of canals. Loss of property was much, particularly in Southern Kashmir and loss of life also no small. 3,16,000 kanals of land were flooded. About 68 persons were killed in the whole State mostly in Jammu. The total loss could be roughly estimated at Rs 250 lakhs. Rivers Chenab and Tawi alone swept away about 600 head of cattle and devastated about a 100 villages, while river Jhelum not less than 500. 19 small bridges or culverts and 20 canals were affected involving a loss of about sixty and twenty-five lakhs respectively. 41,000 acres of land were submerged. In absence of exact records of previous floods this year's flood would be considered as unprecedented.

All Leftists who either resigned from office or governing body of the National Conference brought into existence a new political party called 'Democratic National Conference'. The parent body thus broke into three parts—Abdullah group, Bakhshi group and Sadiq group since 1947 which was not a happy sign for future. As assessed on September 9 the Leftists commanded 14 members in the Assembly and 2 in the Council.

Bomb explosions created a grave situation in the State since June. The one which exploded in Maisuma in September killed two persons. It was put in a mosque to give it a communal colour. It is also possible that Pakistan may be behind this. It is also possible that local workers may be behind this just to blackmail India. The guess cannot be ruled out that explosions may have been organized both to defer as well as to precipitate the impending release of S. M. Abdullah. Some parties wanted it and some did not. There were 38 explosions killing six persons in all (13 in Kashmir and 25 in Jammu).

September 11 was a day of joy. Jawahar Lal Nehru visited Srinagar after about 4 years. The people's welcome was unprecedented. He reiterated India's latest stand on Kashmir and assured of his full moral support to Bakhshi which put Abdullah's release again in cold storage and discouraged dissident group from the National Conference.

The months of October, November and December broke the lull by India sponsored food discussions, trial of enemy agents (16 in

number) in connection with bomb explosion, re-election of Shri Yuvraj Karan Singh as Sadar-i-Riyasat for the second term and fillip to Second Five-Year Plan. Shortage of food due to floods told on the economics of the State. Community Development Projects were put to severe test and strain to tide over the gap.

The final blasting of the second tube of Jawahar Tunnel at Banihal was completed on 19th October. The same day the first two-day convention organized by National Conference Democratic Front was held at Srinagar. The Front reiterated Kashmir's accession with India and placed its own programme before the country.

For the first time during the last 50 years or so Kashmir Valley witnessed its first snowfall on 20th October. The year 1957 was ominous—there were unprecedented rains in spring, there was unprecedented flood in summer and there was early snowfall in autumn. Chinara leaves had not yet turned red. They were still green. Famine stared in the face. Late sowing of seed, flood when crops were in bloom and early snow when harvesting was on crippled all grain crops. If India were not at the back as she has been hitherto there would have been disease, death and devastation unknown in past history. About 5 ft. snowfall over the Banihal pass suspended life-line for a few days. Local food stocks being near exhaustion did present a grave situation so much so that the price of a khirwar of rice rose to about Rs 150. But no death by starvation came to notice. This year's responsibility of feeding the entire population roughly estimated at about 18 lakhs in Kashmir Province devolved on India which rushed supplies in season and out of season. The State received a food subsidy amounting to Rs 4,55,70,862 between 1948 to 1956.

In Charar-i-Sharif bye-election contest and Town Area elections both National Conference and Democratic National Conference set up their own candidates. Severe skirmishes were reported from Badgam, Sopore and Srinagar in November. Beating at Lal Chowk was personally witnessed. Leaders of the Democratic National Conference demanded President's rule in the State. Lawlessness and resentment against the ruling party was manifest.

Budget increased by five times from the initial outlay of Rs 38.49 lakhs and it now equals pre-partition budget. Food deficit grew from more to more in spite of 25 per cent increase in food production. Smuggling across the border was also a reason.

Ten years ago the State had only 2.5 miles of roads per 100 sq. miles. During the period over 500 miles of new roads were constructed, 482 bridges built and about 1,500 miles of roads are in hand to bring towns and villages closer to one another.

For Community Development Projects this year the villagers contributed Rs 50 lakhs against the Government subsidy of Rs 87 lakhs. There are 1,000 Panchayats and the figure is rising to 5,000.

Community Centres in the Second Five-Year Plan—The Sindh Project has attained a generating capacity of 10,000 k.w. and the country is still grievously short of electric power which has hampered industrialisation. During the last ten years the State has received a total assistance of Rs 18 crores most of which was consumed by food and transport.

The year 1958 opened with a sensation. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was released from detention in Kud Sub-jail four days earlier to Dr Frank Graham's visit to the Indian Sub-continent as representative of the Security Council. S. M. Abdullah remained in detention for fifty-three months less by one day. After his release he stated that the real solution of the Kashmir question lay with the people who were the final arbiters. He was given a hero's welcome *en route* to Srinagar on 12th January. In his address at Hazratbal on the following day he stated that accession was never finalized and ratification by the people was still due. Kashmir had temporarily acceded to India in defence, foreign affairs and communications. He maintained that one of the solutions was independence for the valley guaranteed by United Nations and he would not mind Ladakh and Jammu going to India. Procession taken out on 26th January under Bakhshi's leadership was a reply to 12th January ovation given to Abdullah. If bodies were on one side, hearts were on the other. Friday following Miraj-ul-Alam (2-12-1958) turned prayer day at Hazratbal into a miniature Kurballa when followers of Abdullah collided with the workers of the National Conference killing one and injuring dozens of people, even officials on duty for first aid were not spared. This resulted in police action who rounded up many a noted person. A case was started against 86 persons and the trial was conducted in Central Jail.

For the first time since 1947 the annual session of the National Conference was held in Jammu from 15th to 16th March under the Presidentship of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad. Among other resolutions one endorsed Kashmir's accession with India as convened under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and demanded vacation of aggression by Pakistan.

The period 1957 to 1958 following unprecedented flood gave big economic surprises. Not only food-grains were imported in abundance, but even things like fodder for animals, milk and its derivatives, straw made articles and what not for which Kashmir had never felt want found their way in. Had grass also disappeared from the ground and leaves from the trees poses a question for the historian? September flood and early October snow wrought untold havoc. People from the rural area were seen begging in the streets of Srinagar in spite of First Five-Year Plan that was over and Second Five-Year Plan that was on.

While Dr Frank Graham's report created a political flutter in the sub-continent of India and Pakistan Kashmir went ahead with spring festival. Dr Graham had proposed among other things that the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan should meet under auspices of U.N.

Representative and that after withdrawal of Pakistan forces from 'Azad Kashmir' area U.N. forces be stationed on Pakistan border and India to withdraw her military forces from Kashmir which was not acceptable to India at all. The absence of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad from Hazratbal on 21st February (Miraj-ul-Alam) and I'd Gah on the same day two months later gave wind to the impression that Abdullah was the *de facto* leader.

Prices of commodities in the second decade and fifth decade:

Article	II Decade	V Decade
Meat	-/4/- seer	3/-/- seer
Milk	-/1/- "	-/12/- "
Oil	-/4/- "	2/8/- "
Ghee	-/12/- "	5/8/- "
Eggs	-/-/3 "	-/2/6 each
Fuel (willow)	7 mds. per rupee	1/12/- per md.

Vegetables six times, sugar five times, timber 12 times, rice twenty times and so on. There was increase in income also but not to the same extent and it varied from one social group to another. The middle class split into two flanks-extreme riches and extreme poverty. A new aristocracy was born before which the old aristocracy paled into insignificance.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was again arrested on the night of April 29 under Security Act and removed to Kud Jail. During his previous detention for about 53 months his maintenance as a special class prisoner cost nearly Rs 1,70,000 since his release on January 8 last. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was demanding plebiscite to which Security Council and the Republics of India and Pakistan were committed. No popular commotion followed his arrest as had taken place in 1953. It was not due to the fact that he had lost hold on people. Financial Integration of the State with India formally took place on 1st May when Audit and Accounts were transferred to Auditor-General of India. Earlier a non-Kashmiri was appointed a High Court Judge by the President of India. As department after department dropped out and as Indians came in one by one to take over control the reaction among the people worsened. But the feeling did not express itself. White jeeps and cars moving freely were a reminder.

Jashne Kashmir started in 1956 was split up into two—Jashne Bahar and Jashne Khazan. Jashne Bahar started from 19th May and lasted till the first of the next month. Highlights of this celebration were youth rally, illumination, gymkhana matches, mushaira, baby and flower shows, drama, dance, Nadim Day at Bandipore, Shami

Shalamar, Haba Khatun Day at Pampore, River pageant, torch light, tattoo and Abu-ul-Kalam Azad Seminar. Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition which is usually held in August-September was also opened the same day to cater to all types of tourists from all corners of India. Total inflow of visitors ending May 1958 was registered at about twenty thousand which showed substantial increase over previous figures. All available accommodation being over full tents were pitched in Polo Ground, Gandhi Park and Hazuri Bagh which posed the problem of housing expansion.

Complaint was filed in the court on May 2 against Mirza Afzal Beg and twenty others including four Pakistani Intelligence officers under Section 121A and 120A of Ranbir Penal Code read with Rule 32 J. & K. Security Rules charging them with conspiracy to overthrow the State government and to facilitate wrongful annexation of Kashmir by Pakistan. Trial started in Kud (a hill station on Srinagar—Jammu road) from 11th June and was later shifted. President of India promulgated 'Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Ordinance 1958' inserting a subsection after Section 105 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of 1898 regarding execution of certain processes issued by courts in Jammu and Kashmir in the rest of India and vice versa.

Through the installed capacity of 6,000 k.w. from Sindh Valley Hydro Electric Project and bulk purchase of 3,000 k.w. from Joginder Nagar in Punjab, forty-three towns and villages in Jammu province and 18 towns and villages in Kashmir Valley were electrified under the development scheme.

The month of June was a month of great political excitement. Ch. Ghulam Abbas of 'Occupied Kashmir' had started Kashmir Liberation movement to cross Ceasefire Line on 27th. But Pakistan did not approve of such a step. Forces on the Indian side of the Ceasefire were alert to meet any situation. When the zero hour approached batches of volunteers on the other side of the Ceasefire were stopped by Pakistan forces. Even the 'Occupied Kashmir' Government was against such a move. But it appeared an inspired move to awaken conscience of the world and to draw the attention of the Security Council to Graham Report for an early consideration thereof. Sixteen persons from 'Occupied Kashmir' violated the Ceasefire Line and crossed into Jammu near Janghar on July 3. These persons were arrested and detained by the civil authorities. The movement gained no ground. Thirty-one bomb explosions were reported in the State between January and June 1958. This was an indication of under current feeling. Total explosions during 1957-58 mounted to 91 and 53 in 1958-59.

The sum of Rs 77,000 was earmarked for grant of allowances to dependents of 140 martyrs who had lost lives in the cause of State's freedom. A big fire broke out on the night of 19th August

in Fateh Kadal. It was traders' locality and the loss was about rupees one lakh involving houses, police station and a saw mill.

Food subsidy received from India during 1957-58 was distributed as under:

5,88,354 mds.	wheat	Kashmir
1,85,645 "	maize	
38,950 "	flour	
42,017 "	rice	
3,32,472 "	wheat	Jammu
21,800 "	wheat seed	
20,575 "	maize	
5,000 "	bajra	Kishtwar
6,013 "	shali	Leh
1,361 "	rice	
1,565 "	bajra	
700 "	grain	Kargil

As assessed in 1958 the food deficit of 3.6 million mds. a year was reduced by 8,00,000 mds. A rise of 11 per cent in the *per capita* income of the people, 25 per cent increase in literacy and growth in trade from 3.8 crores to 8.5 crores were noticed. Revenue which stood at Rs 4.12 crores in 1950-51 went up to Rs 11.54 crores in 1957-58. Before 1947 hardly 10 per cent girls were literate and in 1958 the percentage rose very high and they are taking part in every walk of life side by side with boys particularly in medicine, education etc. Development of cattle wealth and establishment of Goshalas was stressed at the first All-India Four-Day Goshamvardhan Seminar inaugurated by Sadar-i-Riyasat on 21st August. Acute shortage of cattle was not so much due to paucity of fodder as indiscriminate killing of cows and bulls in spite of prohibitory law on the Statute Book.

September-October is usually harvest time in Kashmir. The fact that Government fixed a target of 23 lakh maunds of grain [collection by voluntary effort (a) Shali Rs 16 per khirwar and (b) Maize Rs 14 per khirwar at the village centre] makes it clear that the farmer also was going healthier along with others. He has not to face Mujwaza, begar or Wad system. When Mujwaza was introduced during World War I the price paid for was Rs 4 at the Ghat.

Dispensaries in the State rose to 235 in 1958 as against 85 in 1947.

Arts and Crafts centres were started at Anantnag, Shopian, Bandipore, Doda, Kathua, Poonch and Leh at an annual expenditure of Rs 3,70,000. Expenditure on administration rose from Rs 24,32,000 in 1947 to Rs 48,36,000 in 1957 as per detail below:

Gazetted Officers rose from 512 to 1,325, Non-Gazetted from 14,176 to 22,196 and Menials from 10,820 to 14,135 (in personnel). There are very few parallels in local annals of this year's land revenue

remission to the tune of rupees one crore and manure remission amounting to Rs 12,00,000. Besides food imports amounted to about Rs 4 crores. National Extension service for 1958-59 received a grant of Rs 12,57,000 as loan and Rs 14,97,000 as aid from the Central Government.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was also put on the list of accused in the Kashmir Conspiracy case on a supplementary complaint filed in the court of Special Magistrate trying the case under Section 121-A in which 24 persons already stood accused. Abdullah was produced before the court on 24th October at Jammu.

Sunwaar (low level ground) is a tract of land from Shalteng to Pattan and Sopore which in local annals is known as Kamraj (deficit area). This is being converted into Sonwaar (golden garden) for the first time in known history. The winter of 1958 saw mass concentration of energy employed in this conversion. This will go down as one of the main achievements of the present Government—canals, huts, schools, dispensaries, Panchayat Garhs and what not where before scarcity and grim poverty stared the eye. It is here that Bakhshi broke the record of Lalitaditya. Of all the development projects undertaken in the First and Second Five-Year Plans Sonwaar was a model project in which local population offered willing co-operation to authorities but doomed to failure. Price paid for should be no consideration*.

The western tube of Jawahar Tunnel was thrown open to public traffic on 21st December. Heavy snow fall the same day frustrated for a while physical greetings from trucks and buses plying to and fro across the tunnel. This is yet another feat of peoples' will.

The year 1958 is coming to close and the Second Five-Year Plan is still on. A shop in Ward No. 1 which could be obtained at Rs. 200 a year before partition has been auctioned for Rs 3,000 to Rs 4,000. This is due to concentration of offices, business firms and settlement of non-Kashmiris in this area, not to mention visitors. Prices of land are on the increase and as one moves down the river prices also go down. The development of this ward received priority at the cost of other wards during Pathan, Sikh and Dogra rulers. The present government is adhering to the same policy with the result that the rest of the city continues to be neglected. Land prices in the city need be more or less uniform and this is possible when concentration is broken up and most of the offices as well as business firms diverted and evenly distributed. Inflation and growing population have failed to attract attention of the politician. Chatabal, Rainawari, area round Mal Khah, Idgah and Chandmari could as well cater to visitors. Why Sonawaar to Amirakadal only for all official as well as unofficial purposes. A person from Safa Kadal going to Sopore comes to Batmalu to catch his bus. The new year (1959) dawned with a fresh agrarian policy introducing joint co-operative farming in the

* The success of the project is doubtful.

State. January and February were one of the severest winters that history has known. In northern areas there was a snow fall of about 9 feet. Food situation was worse in spite of bumper crop. Monthly ration not being adequate rice in the black market sold at about Rs 5 per trak (5 seers 3 chataks). Entry of food grains into the city was already under ban. Even vegetables disappeared due to official intervention. During this season road and air traffic came to standstill too often because of heavy snow. In 1958 there was plenty amidst shortage, but this year it was shortage amidst plenty. Even the fixation of Rs 16 as purchasing price per khirwar of Shali could hardly bring to the Government about four lakhs (8,00,000 mds.) against the speculated target of twelve lakh khirwars (24,00,000 mds.). The soaring price and scarcity became unanswerable.

The revolt of Hamid Bakhshi (younger brother of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad—they are 6-1) from the National Conference and against his own brother provided fodder to all opposition camps. His criticism of the ruling class was the feeling of the public-failure of food policy, Peace Brigade terror, corruption etc. Later he repudiated this stand.

A fresh census of Srinagar city was taken in February in response to a demand for revision of ration tickets which resulted in an increase of about 31,000 in city's population under rationing.

Rs 2,67,000 were distributed as industrial loans and Rs 3,96,000 paid to Town Area Committees as aid under Second Five-Year Plan. Rs 6,03,000 was given as aid and Rs 3 crores as loan to refugees in the State since 1947.

Financially 1959-60 was a bumper year. Revenue of the State rose to Rs 11,77,39,000 which gave a saving of Rs 3,61,16,000 after meeting with an expenditure of Rs 8,62,30,000.

A. A. Andreyey, leader of Soviet Goodwill Delegation which visited Kashmir in the second week of March, reiterated that Kashmir was one of the States of the Republic of India and that the question of its future was an artificial creation. This was closely followed by yet another important event in the third week of March—visit of Hammar-skjold, Secretary General of United Nations Organisation where the Kashmir dispute is still pending. He inspected the Cease fire Line on spot and contacted U.N. Observers. No Secretary General had come before.

Permit system which was introduced in 1947 controlling entry into and from the State against which Dr S. P. Mukerjee had also raised his voice was abolished with effect from 1st April and was followed by expanding jurisdiction of Supreme Court and Election Commission through a vote of State Legislature. A mushroom political body called 'United Democratic Front' came into being asking for special privileges of the State to continue but the move was against the current. All Archaeological Remains in the State were formally handed over to the Central Government.

Almost all detenues were released before the first week of May, prominent among whom were Kashyapa Bundhu, Ghulam Mohammad Shah and others.

For the first time the head of the State Sadar-i-Riyasat Karan Singh accompanied by his wife left for a three-week official tour of Soviet Russia on April 20 at the invitation of Russian Government. Another landmark which closely followed was the visit of Vinoba Bhave, Bhoodan leader, into the State. From May 22 onwards he made *Padyatra* (foot journey) from village to village and addressed huge gatherings asking for free gifts of land and money. His four months stay brought into his bowl about 16,882 kanals of land. But he did not visit Amar Nath cave.

By an Act of Parliament census operations due in 1961 were extended to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. No census was taken in 1951.

Formation of 1,000 Service Co-operatives was under contemplation towards the end of 1951 (Second Five-Year Plan) for promotion of agricultural production, each unit to consist of two to five villages with an approximate population of 1,000 people.

A survey was prompted by the growing tourist industry in the State showing 76 per cent Indians, 9 per cent Americans, 6 per cent Britons, 6 per cent Ceylonese and others, 3 per cent business men. On an average a tourist spent about Rs 275 during his stay in the valley. Roughly speaking tourism brings about one and a half crore of rupees every year and the industry has rightly focused attention in the public.

Disturbances in Tibet in March-April created some concern among 42,000 Buddhist followers of Dalai Lama in Ladakh particularly about the future of Manasar, an Indian enclave in western Tibet which acknowledged sovereignty of Ladakh for the last 300 years or more. With the population of about 300 the enclave is situated 70 miles north of nearest Indian border and 50 miles to the east of Gartok. The village paid land revenue to Ladakh when it was independent and to Kashmir Durbar since 1846. Purang, Rudok, Guge and Lowo were also parts of Ladakh State¹. The Lharai stream near the Pauggong lake was the boundary between Ladakh and Tibet. Chinese intrusion into this area should cause grave concern.

Before the formal introduction of Co-operative farming or formation of Service Co-operatives about 8,000 acres of state land were distributed among landless cultivators—two acres of irrigated land or four acres of un-irrigated land were allotted to a landless peasant. A dairy farm handling about 250 maunds of milk was set up at Chash-mashahi (five miles from town) with four collective centres and thirty-five distribution centres. Subsidy of rupees 7 lakhs by the Central

¹ After about 600 years a college has been opened at Leh for development of Tibetan language and Buddhist religion. This education so far was available at Lhasa, capital of Tibet which came under Chinese domination in 1959.

Government was available to make supply of fresh milk possible which had become a rare commodity. The State contribution amounted to about Rs 5 lakhs. This milk colony was formally inaugurated on 30th November, 1959 by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad. An Industrial Finance Corporation was also set up with a resource of Rs 10 lakhs to give further impetus to trade and industry.

Construction of roads included—one to 8,000 ft. high beauty spot Gulmarg and second to Kishtwar, famous for sapphire mines and rich forests. The latter is 40 miles long touching Doda which is already connected with Batote—Rs 67 lakhs came the cost for this.

Katra town in Jammu is at the foot of Vaishnu Devi shrine. A yoga institute, the first of its kind, is designed for this place at a cost of Rs 10 lakhs. Two other projects—Engineering College* and Cosmic Ray Laboratory are on anvil. The latter will be constructed at Khilanmarg (10,000 ft. high), 31 miles from Srinagar at a cost of Rs 50,00,000 by the Atomic Energy Commission of India. A full-fledged Medical College has already come into operation. Economic position of the people could be read from the fact that over 250 pilgrims including some women left for Haj pilgrimage in May. This was the highest number so far recorded. During the last 64 years as many as 15 devastating floods were witnessed of which the flood of 1957 was worst on record. The capacity of the Jhelum is 36,000 to 50,000 cusecs but the flood was 90,000 cusecs. 10½ mile long Sindh Canal costing about Rs 10,00,000 from Ganderbal to Harwan was completed. Besides irrigating land it will ensure 24-hour water supply to Srinagar with growing population and increasing water consumption.

Construction of Arts Faculty of Jammu and Kashmir University at the University campus near Naseem Bagh, seven miles from Srinagar, was taken up in hand. Yuvraj Karan Singh donated land for the campus and the faculty has been built at a cost of Rs 3.5 lakhs. The University may serve as beacon light for the whole of India as did once ancient University of Kashmir which produced historians, grammarians, surgeons, engineers, philosophers and what not† but no...

But slums of Srinagar continue mostly as they did in feudal period in spite of I and II Five-Year Plans and tall talk by politicians. History does not take notice of parties, official or unofficial, that go round but progress that a country makes.

The month of July started with heavy rains which flooded the Jhelum and its tributaries submerging the valley in water. Level of Jhelum touched 30.25 ft. (six feet above the danger mark). Mohra Power House which had escaped the wrath of raiders in 1946 was hit hard. Ganderbal Power House collapsed. There was no light for about 10 days in the city. Water level in Wolur rose 2.4 feet above the 1957 record (highest was 5,185.8 feet above mean sea level against

* The college has since been started.

† The University has been shifted there since.

5,183.4 feet in 1967). Ranbir Canal in Jammu also gave way. Death toll rose to 149 (127 civilian and 22 army) in the State—76 in Kashmir only (Anantnag 8, Baramulla 52, Srinagar 16). Jammu fared equally worse where the death figure rose to 86, 56 in Poonch alone. 300 miles of roadways and breaches including 18 bridges and culverts were affected. In Poonch 21 miles of roads and 7 bridges, in Jammu 100 miles of roads and in Leh one bridge and ten miles were affected. Loss was also heavy on account of timber that moved down to Pakistan. An estimate of loss was put as under—Rupees ten crores which affected about 4 lakhs of people and 1,000 villages. Sonwaar yielded no gold. Yields of I and II year Plans were almost washed away. This flood was unprecedented as all tributaries in all directions rose simultaneously and yet the city was saved. And there were acts of incendiarism. Circuit House at Tosha Maidan and a bridge on Srinagar—Chrarr Shariff road were burnt. An attempt was made to set Legislative Assembly Chamber on fire. And in spite of this all Vinoba Bhave climbed Pirpanchal and crossed into Gulmarg via Poonch on 15th July. Banihal Cart Road which had gone out of service from July 4 was available for traffic after eighteen days. Visitors who had come in large numbers were stranded at various spots. Many of them had reached the end of their resources and the hardships they faced were painful. The first convoy of 560 trucks and cars which carried about a thousand visitors was, in spite of free lift, a grim sight to look at the Tourist Reception Centre. While on its way a landslide caused many a death.* Roughly estimated loss was put as under: Livestock 10,000; houses 14,000 plus 15,000 damaged; agricultural land 2,00,000 acres. Relief was given as under: Rs 500 to Rs 1,000 per head in case of death, Rs 30 lakhs taccavi loans, ordinance to prevent purchase, transfer, sale or lease and remission of land revenue. Since the construction of B. C. Road never had traffic come to standstill for a whole summer month. Nehru's flying visit on 27th July and Acharya Vinoba Bhave's entry in Srinagar on 2nd August via Gulmarg were a healing balm for a people facing a national calamity. Acharya Vinoba delivered about half a dozen surmons from New Kashmir Park. He is the third in line—Shankaracharya (Vedas),† Shah Hamdan (Islam) and Vinoba (Bhudan) who enlightened Kashmir through the ages, the first two on spirituality and the third on economics. He went back via Banihal after a three week walking tour. India reacted to Kashmir's calamity with great generosity unparalleled in local annals. Donations and grants in cash and kind poured in abundantly.

Seventeenth of October became suddenly a jubilation day when restrictions on import of food-grains into Srinagar were removed and city ration increased. The price of shali was fixed at Rs 16 per khirwar and rice at Rs 13.13 a maund in the open market as well. Food ration

* The old Moghul route via Rajouri and Shopian will be an alternative road as the present route is showing signs of collapse.

† The Adiguru never came to Kashmir. His disciple may have.

was increased from 12 seers to 15 seers per head per month from November i.e., 12 seers rice and 3 seers wheat flour (the price of latter at 3 seers a rupee). The Government imported 3 million maunds of food-grains from India during the food-year 1959-60 to make up the loss caused by the floods. To supplement this Food-grain Regulation Order of 1958 and Guest Control Order continued to remain in force. Fixation of price was a thorn in the rose.

A big Indo-Chinese clash was reported from south Ladakh on October 21. Indian policemen were camping as part of their patrol duties at a place called Hot Springs in the Chang Chenmo Valley. This area is north of Spenggur, beyond the Khurnak Fort and some 100 miles from Leh. The party was attacked by the Chinese as a result of which nine men were killed, some injured and ten taken prisoner. The first Chinese attack had occurred on July 28 when six Indian policemen were taken into custody.

The first snowfall of the season came on 7th November, much earlier than usual and this also adversely affected harvesting of crops which was not completed.

Nehru should go down in the annals of Kashmir as a leader who fought against proverbial ignorance, poverty and starvation of the people during the last thirteen years which has hardly a parallel anywhere else but his pledge . . .

A voluntary strain of about three quarters of a crore of rupees on the Exchequer was involved when third instalment of allowances for Government employees was announced by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad on December 7 payable from April last. The total burden was estimated to amount to Rs 2 crores per year.

Since partition of India in 1947 the problem of refugees from areas now known as 'Occupied Kashmir' had, except periodic doles, remained practically unsolved. On January 7 the Government of India announced a grant of Rs 15 crores. Every refugee settled on land was given Rs 1,000 and every refugee not settled on land Rs 3,500. The relief covered 35,000 refugee families. They were also assured that they would not be dislodged from lands or houses.

Except a small snowfall in the morning hours on 7th November which melted away before dawn, there was no snowfall of season, unusual again, up to 19th January, barring a nominal break on 14th—27th day of Chilakalan. Bright sun-shine was considered a freak of nature.

The budget of the State rose to Rs 1,569.93 lakhs (over 15 crores) for the year 1960-61. The Central assistance for the Plan during the year was estimated to be Rs 706.74 lakhs.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad stated in the Assembly that the State was getting Rs 3 crore aid from the Centre while the Departments transferred like Customs, Incometax, Telephone and Telegraph etc.,

would yield much higher income. Later he dissolved the Municipalities of Jammu and Srinagar.

The National Democratic Conference received a great set back when Ghulam Rasool Renzu, former Speaker of J. & K. Assembly, resigned from it on the plea that communalism had entered into its ranks. It was Renzu episode which had given birth to the organisation.

Himachal slogan and Ladakh defence prompted Nehru's visit to the Valley on July 2. During his five day stay he made two trips to Ladakh.

King Mahendra of Nepal and his Queen arrived in Srinagar on 8th July. There were Gurkhas in the state army some of whom had acquired immovable property but the visit of a King of Nepal (though private) was never heard before.

Eight bomb explosions in Lalmandi at nightfall on 7th July were attributed to enemy agents which again shows that all is not well still.

The new Secretariat building at Shahid Gunj was taken up in August 1961 and completed in April 1963. About 400 labourers worked at it. The cost came to about Rs 51 lakhs. The floor area is 140,000 sq. ft. 2500 tons of cement and 850 tons of iron were used in the seven-storeyed building—410 ft.×53 ft. (12,000 tons). Post Office, Telephone Exchange and Cafeteria are attached to it.

The building was occupied on 6th May 1963 when offices moved from Jammu to Srinagar. The opening ceremony was performed on 3-5-63.

The decision of the Government to grant pensions to persons disabled or killed during the struggle movement since 1931 (belated though) from Rs 40 to Rs 75 per head per month was widely appreciated. Court-fine and punitive tax had already been remitted. But opportunists reaped better harvest than actual sufferers.

The first week of May was a time of great excitement at Delhi when America's Secretary of State, Britain's Commonwealth Secretary, Foreign Secretary and Chief of Army Staff conferred with Indian leaders, Kashmir being the principal topic of discussion. But no honourable and equitable compromise between India and Pakistan was available.

The fifth round of ministerial talks on Kashmir which began at Karachi on 22nd April ended on 25th. Neither party won any Rubber.

The sixth round of talks which started at Delhi on 15th May ended dramatically on second day with no obvious gains or losses for either.

'The sixteen year old Kashmir dispute will not be settled at the Conference table. Six rounds of ministerial talks have indicated this. Mediation, arbitration, partition or plebiscite are not acceptable. Two neighbours staring at each other with eagle looks while banking on a

hostile population may one day flare up a situation that will be disastrous. Pakistan has already occupied over 28,000 sq. miles. Adjustment of Ceasefire Line would yield to her a little more but she insists on 'pound of flesh'. India which claims legal sovereignty is not prepared to surrender more, come what may. Thus the thorn is there.

Kashmir presented Finance Minister of India 1.9 lakh grams of gold, 583,000 grams of silver, 168 sovereigns and a cheque for Rs 30 lakhs on March 29 at a reception. Gold and silver was mostly taken from Toshkhana Department and passed on for Defence Fund. The amount in cash was the second instalment as collections had exceeded fifty lakhs by this time. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad presented a cheque for Rs 10 lakhs to Jawahar Lal Nehru on his arrival here on 18th June as the state's further contribution towards National Defence Fund. The state has already contributed Rs 30 lakhs plus $5\frac{1}{2}$ mds. gold and $15\frac{1}{2}$ mds. silver. Addressing workers Nehru stated that Pakistan had exploited Chinese aggression and blackmailed India at the most critical hour in her history. India still stood for honourable and equitable settlement but not for surrender.

GLIMPSES FROM 1961 CENSUS

Population (9 Districts)	...	35,60,976
Roughly four millions		
(a) Rural	...	29,67,661
(b) Urban	...	5,93,315
Population in 1951 estimated	...	32,53,852
Increase in 1951-61—9.44 per cent (0.9 per cent p.a.)		
Sex ratio 878 females for every 1000 males		
Srinagar lowest 849 to 1000. Literacy 110 for 1000 (170 in male population and 43 in female population).		
Buddhists	...	48,360
Christians	...	2,848
Hindus	...	10,13,193
Muslims	...	24,32,067
Sikhs	...	63,069
The population in 1941 stood at	...	29,48,059
Number of villages	...	6,726
Number of towns	...	43
Houses	...	5,66,766
Area . . . Kashmir	...	11,29,027 sq. Kilometres
Population (Kashmir)	...	19,88,089
Literacy (Villages)	...	7.6 per cent
(Towns)	...	28.3 per cent

The Third Five-Year Plan included among other things Industrial Estates, a two mile tunnel from Baramulla to Sheri, an anti-flood measure to direct Jhelum water.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's counter threat to Himachal slogan that 1947 would be repeated posed a serious problem.

During 1959-60 there were 144 raids which killed 18 persons. In 125 bomb explosions 16 persons were killed, property destroyed and a number of persons injured.

528 Tibetan refugees entered Kashmir via Ladakh-Tibet border in 1959-60.

About 2,25,000 lbs of Vegetable Seeds were exported in 1959 to countries like Indonesia, Ceylon, Iran and Burma. Total export in Second Five-Year Plan period amounted to 9,66,808 lbs against 1,92,273 lbs during the First Plan period.

The stadium cost Rs 12.75 lakhs and close to it came up youth hostel and Tagore Memorial Theatre costing Rs 14 lakhs. The Engineering College cost Rs 1.5 crores. It was inaugurated on September 24th at Naseem Bagh, 7 miles from Srinagar.

The reported purchase of a plot of land in Bangalore by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad sounded a dim note of possible retreat.

Sudden outbreak of cholera in October took a death toll of 1,694 within three months. The immediate cause was use of stagnant water by boat population in Dalgate area.

Zadibal constituency bye-election to Assembly on November 2nd under the auspices of Election Commission of India was a sad experience for two independent candidates who lost to National Conference Candidates.

Burzahom excavations near Harwan revealed existence of pre-historic pit-dwellers in India. They also yielded information regarding the neolithic and later cultures for the affinities of which deep research is needed which may extend beyond the frontiers of India.

Twenty years old Baramulla Match Factory was nationalised in November—after 18 months of suspension. This was the second non-Muslim concern, the first being Karan Singh Woollen Mills which came under nationalisation soon after partition.

As December came in the merger of National Conference and Democratic National Conference came to notice, the latter having gathered little moss during the period of rift. The merger was not approved by the Jammu wing. Cabinet was expanded to accommodate Messrs Sadiq, Dogra, Qasim and Dhar making the total 9.

The revenue of the State for 1961-62 rose to Rs. 1,71,880 lakhs. Expenditure went up to Rs. 2,45,703 lakhs which was supported by Central assistance of Rs. 656 lakhs. Expenditure on education alone rose to 2 crores from 33.5 lakhs in 1947.

Family allowance to conspiracy case prisoners varied from Rs. 100 to Rs. 1,000. They were given newspapers, clothing and bedding. The jail rooms were fitted with ceiling fans. They could play volley ball and badminton.

The area of the State has been reduced to 53,220 sq. miles. 27,89,769 acres are under cultivation worked by 28,00,000 agriculturists. Under the Landed Estates Abolition Act 4,50,000 acres were taken away from land-lords out of which 2,30,000 acres were transferred to tillers. The area under forests is 8000 sq. miles. The forest wealth is roughly estimated at Rs. 1,500 crores.

Total loan outstanding against the State from the Centre ending March 1960 stood at Rs. 38,98,61,297. Total aid since 1947 amounted to Rs. 16,39,72,419. Rs. 31,40,693 were given as relief and loan to flood sufferers in 1959.

During the Second Five-Year Plan 35 crores were spent on development work and 36 crores worth assets were created. At the beginning of Second Five-Year Plan 35 lakh maunds of food-grains were imported which was reduced to 12 lakh maunds towards the close.

The National Conference started crusade against Maharaja Gulab Singh and the Amritsar Treaty of 1846 in 1946. The subsequent events forced the Dogra to pocket this humiliation. Fifteen years after he asserted himself again when Maharaja Gulab Singh Memorial Cultural Centre was organised at Jammu on the occasion of Maharaja's death centenary. The foundation stone was laid by Dr. Karan Singh himself who stated 'As long as India lives, will live the name of Maharaja Gulab Singh who extended the borders of India at a time when India was not a free country'. Thus was history un-read and re-read.

Maharaja Hari Singh died at Bombay on 26th April. He was 65. Neither his son nor his wife were nearby. Death was due to heart failure. Offices, schools and shops remained closed in Jammu only. For thirteen long years he remained isolated and parted in isolation away from his native home. He made out a will by which bulk of his assets were given away to Arya Samaj and his ashes were thrown over Jammu.

Anantnag town was partially ablaze on 8th June. Three big Mohallas were engulfed in the fire burning about 327 houses, 25 godowns and 16 pens. About a dozen fire fighting engines rushed to the town to fight the fire. Over 5,000 people were badly hit and the loss exceeded one crore. Their rehabilitation was keenly looked after.

The Government of India recognised Dr Karan Singh as successor to H. H. Maharaja Hari Singh with effect from 26th April entitling him to an annual privy purse of Rs 10 lakhs. He declined to use the title until his term as Sadar-i-Riyasat out of respect for national emotions.

The first dredge named after Suya, a 9th century Engineer who had devised measures to drain off Kashmir valley, went into commission on 19th July. It will deepen Jhelum's 16 mile long out-fall channel from Sopore to Khadanyar. Dredging operation is part of state's Rs 22 crore flood protection scheme. Jawahar Lal Nehru performed the inauguration ceremony who later at Lal Chowk declared

that talk of plebiscite had ended long back. The second dredge 'Bud Shah' was commissioned in September. Rice yield in the State rose to 2147.2 lbs. per acre.

Jashne Kashmir has survived as an annual function. Electricity for Mattan and Parmanand Ashram were highlights of this year's Jashan.

Dr V. Raghavan told over 650 delegates at the 21st session of All India Oriental Conference held at Medical College Hall on 14th October 'to carry on their work in such a way that the needed atmosphere for national integration was slowly created and healthy trends were allowed to evolve gradually', also (a) Devanagari to be used for all India purpose (b) regional scripts to be used for respective mother tongues (c) research undertaken in Indology (d) All India Education cadre to be formed (e) Universities to have endowment lectures (f) South Indian languages to be taught in North Indian Universities (g) consistent attitude to be adopted for national integration by public leaders.

The year 1961 has ended with smiles and tears both. Rising prices, black-marketing and corruption were the keynote with the ushering in of the Third Five-Year Plan, resentment among the people received a fillip. The entire economy being in the hands of one class they alone could fight the battle for self-preservation. Today a road permit holder is a 'chalis hazari' of the Mughul days.

The year 1962 ushered in a tense atmosphere both political and physical. Political because February elections were heading on, physical because there was no regular snowfall not even *Kath Kushu*, a freak of nature which kept people guessing. December to March are usually snow months in Kashmir.

Ladakh was for the first time linked up with Srinagar by telephone on 14th January. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was the first to talk.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and 24 others were committed to Sessions on the eve of Republic Day by the special magistrate. They were found guilty prima facie of conspiracy to overthrow the Government and facilitate the state's wrongful annexation by Pakistan. The trial had started in May 1958. The committal order which runs into about 1,000 typed pages will contribute a page to criminal history.

Winter crops like wheat, barley and oil seeds received a great setback due to exceptional season.

The prediction of world's doom between February 3 to 5 when eight planets would meet in *Makara Rashi* (Capricorn) brought down election tempo to a freezing point. *Havans* were performed to ward off any natural calamity. 32 candidates of the National Conference were returned unopposed. In the contest for the remaining 11 seats 2 were won by Independents in Handwara and Budgam. Praja Parishad was conceded only 3 seats. Union Election Commission did come but local tactics of the ruling party could also work wonders.

Addressing a public meeting at Lal Chowk just after the elections were over Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad stated that special position given to the state under the Indian Constitution would not be withdrawn. The Finance Commission which had proposed a cut in the state's subsidy was also brought under fire. 'We were borrowing from India and paying back. India herself was borrowing from others'. Obviously the trump card in the pocket was reacting. The same trump card was displayed by his predecessor.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's 1962 cabinet consisted of:

1. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad
2. G. L. Dogra
3. S. M. Qasim
4. Dina Nath Mahajan
5. Kh. G. M. Sadiq
6. Shams-ud-Din
7. Chuni Lal Kotwal
8. Durga Prasad Dhar
9. Asad Ullah Mir

The Union Atomic Energy Commission project, the high altitude cosmic ray research laboratory, was completed and is being linked up with the high level laboratory on the 12,500 ft. Apharwat Peak through Khilanmarg by means of a ropeway.

Jammu and Kashmir Minerals Ltd. approved a total outlay of Rs 2.56 crores during 1962-63. The projects were mining of a coal-field at Kalakot, lignite at Nichihama, sapphire at Paddor, two aerial ropeways, one connecting Bergoa coalmine with 20 megawatt thermal power station at Kalakot and another 10 megawatt thermal power station at Janagalgali, drilling units, production of gypsum at Bunyar, cement factory at Wuyan and Jammu, spun pipe factory, steel rerolling mill, pencil slate factory and fertilizer factories.

Pre-historic megaliths and remains were located at Khurhom at Long. E. 74.23, Lat. N 34.33, about 13 miles from Kupwara commanding a beautiful view of the Pohru river basin. The inscription bore the Kharoshati script and the figures signify Kushan art dating back to 250 B.C.

There were 140 raids across Ceasefire Line from January 1961 to end of April 62 resulting in about 12 deaths and heavy loss of property. Besides 33 bomb explosions also occurred.

May 30 bye-election in Srinagar was an eye-opener to the ruling party. The official candidate won only by less than 300 votes in spite of full-scale support that the Government could give. Yet another step forward towards accession was taken by a declaration that members to the Central Parliament from this state would be returned by direct election.

Revenue for 1962-63 was estimated at Rs 34.93 crores and expenditure at Rs 40.77 crores showing a deficit of Rs 5.84 crores out of which Rs 11,00,000 were expected to be recovered through additional taxes. Allotment under major heads was:

Industry	Rs 6.50 crores
P.W.D.	Rs 5.50 "
Irrigation and Power	Rs 5.39 "
Education	Rs 3.00 "
Public Health	Rs 1.55 "

The debit position of the state stood at Rs 35,78,95,318 by end of March 61 against assets credited—Rs 36,59,73,000.

June 22 was again a climax day. The Security Council passed a resolution moved by Ireland by seven votes against two, two remaining neutral. Russia exercised the veto for the 100th time to block the resolution. While India is agreeable to talks with Pakistan on the issue she is against mediation, arbitration or intervention. Increased tension is but natural.

Jawahar Lal's second visit to Kashmir this year was meaningful—China, Pakistan and local problems.

The President of India decorated Dr. Karan Singh with the honorary rank of Major General.

6,50,000 mds. of food grains were expected to be imported in (1962) as against 11,00,000 mds. in (1961).

Something like an undeclared war broke out along the border between India and China in July. The Chinese tightened their hold on 12,000 sq. miles inside Ladakh. There have been set backs and casualties but tough resistance was offered with the determination to throw back the enemy.

The political trend drifted towards section 370 of the Indian Constitution. Voices were raised against two Presidents, two Prime Ministers and two flags within the same Indian Union, Kashmiris becoming Indian nationals outside the state and Indians being refused similar privilege within the state, National Conference supplanting Indian National Congress. Bakhshi was on the horns of a dilemma—in one breath he declared that the state was an integral part of India and in another he still stressed for special status, quoting a cock and bull story. Again a situation arose which Delhi was called upon to tackle. In a press interview Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad said 'Kashmir was still very much an international issue. The threat from China and Pakistan backed by the United States and other powers still persisted. The communal and reactionary elements within the state and in other parts of India were still active. Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah though not as important as before still posed a serious political problem for the state which could not be dealt with primarily as a law and order question. Article 370 be scrapped for all I care but before taking such

a step all its implications should be fully examined and understood. This Article gave validity to the state's voluntary accession to the Indian Union as determined by the freely elected Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir State. The National Conference could not be converted into a unit of the Congress Party. The National Conference had its own special traditions and its following had certain sentiments which needed to be respected'. Closely following this in an another interview given to a foreign editor Bakhshi said that Kashmir would rather be independent but it is not possible in the present day, surrounded as she is by India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Russia and China. If Section 370 were abrogated Indian capitalists would buy Kashmir in no time. He permitted foreign investment only on the basis of 51 per cent shares for the state and 49 per cent for outside capital. Soon after sign boards bearing the following statement by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad which categorically contradicted his previous press interview appeared at conspicuous places:

'Jammu and Kashmir State is an integral part of India. It has been since times immemorial and shall continue to be so eternally. The State's voluntary accession to the Indian Union as determined by the freely elected Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir has given irrevocable finality and constitutional legality to this relationship. This association of the state with the rest of India is the only key to the solution of all the problems facing the State'.

Fourth revision of pay-scale since 1953 involved the Exchequer to a further expenditure of about Rs 45 lakhs per year benefiting about 60,000 employees. The minimum pay was raised to Rs 65 p.m. But the middle class in services was no gainer.

A glimpse of mal-administration may be taken from the report of the Comptroller and Auditor-general of India:

'(Rs 2.51 crores have been left in abeyance by the Forest Dept. Rs 3.74 crores were invested in 29 Government managed concerns of which 8 are in the formative stage, commercial account for 1960-61 is still due from 13 (proforma account of 2 of these for 1958-59 and other 4 concerns for 1959-60 is being awaited). Bonus was paid in two silk concerns in anticipation of profits. Out of a loan of Rs 9 lakhs to workers Rs 8.18 lakhs was in arrears. The Pashmina Wool Syndicate which was advanced a loan of Rs 5.87 lakhs during 1953-55 is under liquidation. The debt position stands at Rs 39 crores as against Rs 25 crores in 1958. Out of 3.15 lakh mds. of fertilizers received upto 31-3-59 only 1.77 lakh mds. were distributed. Out of Rs 4.98 lakhs collected from consumers only Rs 2.75 lakhs were remitted to Treasury and the balance of Rs 2.23 remains recoverable. Jammu has failed to account for 3.15 lakh mds. of fertilizers from 1955. Out of 1.06 lakh mds. of fertilizers received during 1959-60, 52,000 mds. were

distributed against 7.28 lakhs but Rs 50,000 only were collected by end of December 1960. Even this was not remitted to Treasury. Rs 1.46 lakhs. were embezzled from the Co-operative Bank's cash balance. Irrigation and Electric Depts. indicated leakages of 23 lakhs and 4 lakhs ending 31-3-61. 1955 residential quarters were built at a cost of Rs 55.87 lakhs out of which 1481 were allotted but there are no regular records).

Audit report for 1963 revealed:

(a) Rs 1.47 lakhs were spent between July 1956 and July 1962 on purchases of equipment and maintenance of staff of a forest laboratory which conducted no research at all.

(b) Rs 20,307 were due from five ex-Ministers as house rent, etc. till the end of April, 1963.

(c) Srinagar Electric Division incurred a loss of Rs 11.19 lakhs representing the value of 124.10 lakh units of electricity.

(d) Rs 5.30 crores remained unrealised ending March 1962. Arrears of Rs 3.17 crores ending March 1961 increased by Rs 1.59 crores ending March 1963.

23 Colleges, 260 Higher Secondary Schools, 535 Middle Schools, 5,800 Primary Schools, 12 L. A. Matric Training Schools, totalling 6,630 were run by the end of IIInd 5 year plan. 2,67,586 students attended schools. The Jammu and Kashmir University boasts of 9 Faculties, 12 Post Graduate Depts. with research facilities for the Ph.D. Degree in most of them. The University examined 23,531 candidates and its budget rose from Rs 2,10,327 in 1949 to Rs 44,20,750 in 1962.

An assessment of leadership was made by Prem Nath Dogra (*Mirror*, Jammu 11.8.62): 'Bakhshi had held a Cabinet Minister from his ears and pushed him into a chair during the open Durbar at his Srinagar residence recently though the Premier had done so in annoyance and his action was not appreciable, it was strange that the concerned Minister had swallowed the insult with a pinch of salt'.

Dr Karan Singh was re-elected Sadar-i-Riyasat for the third term.

The Jammu and Kashmir Militia was granted regular army status and redesignated 'the Ladakh Scouts' for having given an excellent account in the Damchok engagement against Chinese.

A grand seven storey building went up on the Bund opposite Sri Chand Chinar. Lengthwise it has thirteen double windows (about 35 yards). Such a building was unique*. Bakhshi Majid, a younger brother of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, took a trip to London and Tokyo to select sanitary and electric fitting for the building. Fifteen years before he was running a tailor's shop. Such meteoric rise was due to Ceasefire Line and Five-Year Plans. The new Secretariat 6 storey building at Shahid Gunj rose up to play second fiddle to the above.

• This building has 13 shops on the ground floor facing Jhelum.

Facing the road rose up another three-storeyed building which has thirty five shops. This is also a unique construction.

The four-storey building close by has 35 shops. Two cinema houses and a motor shop are round the corner.

Withdrawals from some out-posts and loss of life both in LADAKH AND NEFA area shocked the people. The response to India's call to drive out the Chinese from Indian soil was magnificent. People voluntarily offered money, gold and blood. Such an upsurge was unique in the recorded annals. The position was weak from 20th October. The arrival of arms from abroad had a psychological effect on the Jawans. America and Britain particularly came to help while over sixty nations condemned China.

Publication of a Russian Atlas showing LADAKH AND NEFA as part of China further complicated the border situation.

Sixteen persons were awarded 'Vir Chakra' for exceptional heroism on the Ladakh front by the President of India at a special ceremony. Most of them belonged to J. & K. Militia, now re-named Ladakh Scouts. Some awards were posthumous.

China offered a unilateral ceasefire on the northern border with effect from Wednesday (21st November) and agreed to withdraw to the position held by her in 1959 from December 1st but asked India to stay where she was driven to.

The disputed McMahon Line, legacy of British rule, remains, according to this offer, still crossed on Ladakh side. India insisted on September 8 position before talks could start. Ceasefire, however, was effective. China had further agreed to withdraw 20 Kilo metres from actual line of control in NEFA while asking India also to withdraw 20 Kilometres on her side in Ladakh. As China withdrew in NEFA India also did.

China categorically rejected India's offer of September 8 position and insisted on her own 3 point proposal of December 9. The six Colombo Powers, however, intervened in the dispute.

A joint Communique was issued by the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India on 30th November stating that all outstanding problems between Pakistan and India including Kashmir would be solved equitably and honourably. The problems would be considered first at Ministerial level and later by the two leaders. This atmosphere was created at the instance of American and British leaders who were on a visit to India in connection with her defence needs. But conflicting statements that followed in India and Pakistan further confused the situation.

The Ministerial talks on Kashmir and other disputes between India and Pakistan started on 27th December at Rawalpindi with an assurance of clean slate from either side. The talks were resumed in Delhi on January 16.

The year 1963 dawned with one of the severest winters recorded in history. It started from November which is not usual. The whole of 'Chila Kalan' was covered by *Kat Kashu*. Dal Lake was also frozen and there were cycle and jeep drives on two feet thick ice.*

The Defence Fund rose to about Rs 15 lakhs plus gold contributions. But the response to defence call was not so spontaneous and encouraging as could be expected for a double reason, one that the state had greatly benefited from association with India and two that Ladakh being a part of the state was invaded by China.

The conferment of honorary Degree of LL.D. on Dr Karan Singh and Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad by the Aligarh University was generally welcomed. The citation mentioned continued election of Dr Karan Singh to the office of Sadar-i-Riyasat and Bakhshi's qualities of head and heart to meet an emergency.

Indo-Pakistan Ministerial talks which ended at Delhi on 19th January were resumed at Karachi early next month. Both sides stated that difference had been narrowed down. They were at a stage which was neither optimistic nor pessimistic.

Six non-aligned nations' Colombo plan which was by and large acceptable both to China and India provided that in the eastern sector China to retire to McMahon Line (the actual line of control prior to September 8), middle sector to remain as it was and in the western sector China to retire 12 miles while India to stay where she was and the area thus vacated to be guarded by civilians from both sides and finally China and India to come to the Conference table for an early and amicable settlement of the border dispute by mutual negotiation. Conference table receded as China hesitated to endorse the clarification.

On March 2 Pakistan signed a border treaty with China conceding to the latter about 13,600 sq. miles including nine passes from that part of the state forcibly occupied by the former. Pakistan claimed she had obtained about 1,500 sq. miles while China got about 2,500 sq. miles. This was mutual 'give and take' of a land which belonged to neither. India brought this to the notice of the Security Council on March 16.

The revenue of the state rose to Rs 2,952.46 lakhs for the year 1963—1964 and the expenditure was estimated at Rs 2,729.68 lakhs showing a deficit of Rs 22.22 lakhs. Capital receipts stood at 979.16 and expenditure not charged to revenue at 1,314.05. Principal allotments were Industries 395.00, Irrigation 246.20, P.W.D. 504.80, Ladakh 94.82.

Consequent to the declaration of an Emergency in the country and tightening of the budget nearly all Government controlled industrial concerns were given notice of closure. They had shown losses.

During the last sixteen years hospitals in the State have risen from 6,534 beds to 7,554 and doctors to 342. This indicates that diseases

* So was Bakhshi's second marriage celebrated mysteriously ominous.

also multiplied and number of patients went up beyond available accommodation. Schools rose to 4,634 from 1,273 during the last 12 years.

The fourth round of Ministerial talks on Kashmir between India and Pakistan ended on 14th March at Calcutta to be resumed at Karachi in April.

An unprecedented cloud burst hit Pahalgam town on 20th July at about 5 p.m. which killed 31 persons and swept away 2 hotels, several shops, a few huts, two cars, one jeep and a number of ponies etc. Police and Military were called to help civilian authorities. According to unofficial sources the death toll rose to several hundred.

For the first time in local annals tap water was supplied to Amarnath pilgrims this year on their way to the holy cave.

Y. B. Chavan, Defence Minister of India, stated in Srinagar on 5th August that J. & K. Militia would be a permanent organisation. Formed in 1948 the Militia threw the doors of army open to Kashmiris after many decades. Bakhshi presented him a cheque for Rs 1½ lakhs.

In reply to Central Government's directive the J. & K. Government informed the former that it was not prepared to raise retirement age of its employees from 55 to 58 at present. Was the reply prompted by communal considerations? August 7 saw departure from an established convention when a Muslim candidate secured mandate from the National Conference for Amira Kadal Constituency in an Assembly bye-election.

Since 1947 the State attained the following target: (This is supplementary to above statement)

Revenue Rs 2,452.46 lakhs.

Education Rs 304.02 lakhs.

Transport 7,000 vehicles. 20,000 manpower.

Public Health 16.92 lakhs.

Rs. 4.80 *per capita*. 3,084 beds.

Power 400 per cent increase. Rs 504.80 lakhs.

Religious establishments that were either created or rejuvenated since 1947:

1. Gurdwara Chhatibadshahi.
2. Charar-Sharif, Hazratbal mosque, Awqaf.
3. Ganesh Mandir, Sharika Asthapan (Hari Parbat), Khirbhawani, Bairav Asthapan etc.

Assembly elections since 1947 were in contrast generally to earlier elections. The criteria of selection differed. The result was sudden rise of lower strata of society.

Government Industrial Concerns which were closed down in April were run again in September with a view to show profit, not loss as before.

In response to Congress call Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad tendered resignation from the post of Prime Minister on 24th August and offered his services for organisational work.

'In Orissa and Kashmir, the present Chief Ministers were no doubt powerfully entrenched. But their actions continue to provoke constant controversy and there have been serious charges of corruption and high handedness . . . It would do them some good if both Mr Patnaik and Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad took some organisational work for a change'. (*Times of India* 26-8-1963).

This observation probably featured in a report to the Congress Working Committee and speaks for itself. His beneficiaries felt that they were hit hard by the resignation which came as a surprise.

King Mahendra and Queen Ratna of Nepal came on a 8-day official visit to Kashmir on August 31. They visited Amarnath cave. At a special convocation of the J. and K. University the King was conferred LL.D. He was the first recipient of this honour from the University.

At 7.10 on the morning of 2nd September there came a severe earthquake shock lasting 5 seconds which caused heavy damage to Budgam Tehsil, south-west of Srinagar. Over 50 villages were affected, over 100 persons were killed, over 500 people were injured and over 2,000 houses collapsed. Free rations and medical aid were rushed to the scene of occurrence. Grant of Rs 40 lakhs plus free timber plus Rs 1,000 for every person killed was announced.

Bandipur town was ablaze on the night of 13th September. Over 600 shops and houses were burnt. It took fire brigades nine hours to combat the fire. 6,000 people rendered homeless were accommodated in Government buildings. Two week rations were distributed free. The town is about 35 miles from Srinagar and is on the border of the Valley.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad announced grant of Rs 10 lakhs and two lakh cubic feet of timber as an immediate relief measure.

In spite of land brought under cultivation having gone up to 2.76 lakh acres, import of foodgrains still stood at 8.25 lakh maunds to feed 19,88,089 mouths in Kashmir and 15,72,7 in Jammu 1961-62.

Road mileage rose to 1,503 in 1962-63.

Welfare of animals was also looked after. There were 28 hospitals and 9 dispensaries.

Twenty-nine industrial establishments run as Government and semi-Government concerns were put under a Private Limited Company with a combined capital of rupees two crores. These establishments were closed down in April on account of losses shown by them. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad became its first chairman.

Rs 7,77,55,747 were contributed by Government of India to the State during first half of 1961-62.

It was announced in Lok Sabha that the Conspiracy case had cost the Government of India over Rs 27 lakhs during the last ten years. Was it worthwhile?

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad had extraordinary qualities. He was a great organiser. He was not miserly. He amassed money no doubt but he also gave away some. In his time corruption went up, moral life received a set-back, law and order situation became worse and whether he connived all this or not, but he failed to combat the menace. He created a big army of permit-holders, contractors, import license holders and upstart officers who went out of control.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad submitted his 'resignation and of his Ministry to the Sadar-e-Riyasat on 4th October morning in a formal manner and the same was accepted. All possible circumstantial evidence reveals that the resignation was inspired by what is known as the 'Kamaraj Plan' calling upon senior Congressmen to devote themselves to organisational work which had suffered on account of lure of office. Bakhshi did not come in.

The farewell function held in his honour by Government officers on lawns of the New Secretariat on 5th October exhibited an enthusiasm never witnessed since at least 1923 on the retirement of a Chief Minister. And yet Muslims were heard of having destroyed Bakhshi's photographs in their houses as a sequel to his latest statement made in the Legislative Council.

The farewell address revealed the following progress since 1953-54 (the year S. M. Abdullah was put behind the bars):

- School-going children from 64,000 to 2,34,000.
- Primary and Basic schools from 1,239 to 4,000.
- High Schools from 72 to 246.
- Colleges from 7 to 14.
- Industrial Training Institutes from 0 to 9.
- Professional Colleges from 1 to 8.
- Dispensaries from 217 to 374.
- Health Centres from 0 to 55.
- Hospitals from 10 to 19.
- Hospital beds from 600 to 1,530.
- Housing loans from 0 to Rs 98,06 lakhs.
- Houses from 0 to 1,642.
- Revenue from Rs 8.94 crores to Rs 34.66 crores.
- Non-Plan expenditure from 5.20 crores to Rs 18.84 crores.
- Plan expenditure from Rs 1.55 to Rs 15.32 crores.
- Additional jobs rose to 33,569.
- Electric power from 4,000 to 31,000 kilowatts.
- Technical man-power from 72 to 4,770.
- Study loans rose to Rs 2.79 crores.

The address was silent on (a) corruption (b) rapes and kidnappings (c) import and consumption of wine (d) embezzlements (e) price

situation (f) foodgrains (g) failure of law and order which had grown into enormous proportions during the decade.

And the mood of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was elsewhere—sincere he never was.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad publicly stated that Section 370 would remain permanently in the Indian Constitution, that change of designation of Heads of State and Government would not affect their status and that National Conference would not merge in Indian National Congress. This statement came in between his resignation and election of new Chief Minister and speaks for itself and revealed the inner working of his mind.

Shams-ud-Din, Revenue Minister in the outgoing Cabinet, was elected Party Leader on 10th October. He comes from Anantnag and is 41. Though a Law Graduate, he knows nothing of either 1921 uprising or 1931 revolution. Neither does he know much of 1946 'fight to the finish battle', except as a worker. Bakhshi's own find, he succeeded him on 12th October. His Cabinet consisted of Shams-ud-Din, Dina Nath Mahajan, Harbans Singh Azad, Manohar Nath Koul, Pir Ghias-ud-Din and M. Ayub Khan.

Shams-ud-Din started his career as Petition Writer. In 'Quit Kashmir' movement he courted imprisonment as a volunteer. He was elected to Legislative Assembly in 1957. Within only ten years he rose from the lowest rung of the ladder to the highest.

G. M. Sadiq and his group of 13 did not participate in the election of the new Party leader. They were let down by back-door whisper.

A mild sensation was caused during the last week of October along the Ceasefire Line in the Poonch and Baramulla areas. In the former water from Beter Nallah was cut off which supplied electricity to Poonch town. In the latter Chaknot village was attempted to be occupied by force. This village lay on the Indian side of the Ceasefire-Line. In Poonch fire was also exchanged killing one Indian labourer.

As November dawned in Bunyar in Baramulla district featured in headlines for sudden finding of lead deposits in the surrounding forest area.

As many as 18 bomb explosions occurred in the State between March and October which kept the *political fire* burning.

Expenditure on irrigation and electricity ending 1962 amounted to 31 crores and 8.51 crores. The loss on the two departments in two years amounted to Rs 40.83 lakhs and Rs 4.10 lakhs. While power leakage in Srinagar was 54 per cent it was 28 per cent in Jammu. Srinagar Division alone suffered a loss of 11.19 lakhs. This is only an instance of abuse of authority and misuse of money.

November 6 is a remembrance day on both sides of the Ceasefire Line since partition in 1947. Within the State it is celebrated as deliverance day from Qabaili invasion which was held back by the Indian

Army. Across it is observed as mourning day for the alleged massacre of Muslims in Jammu on the eve of the invasion. In between these two extreme viewpoints there should be a sane line.

Praja Parishad (Jana Sangh) and National Conference confronted each other at Jammu on 11th November resulting in tear-gas, firing, looting of shops, stone-throwing, lathi-charge, etc. About a hundred persons were injured on either side. The occasion was the new Prime Minister was being carried in procession to office for the first time in the winter capital. The demand of the Praja Parishad was President's Rule, abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution and open enquiry into corruption charges against Ministers.

Lt-Gen. Bikram Singh and four other high ranking military officers were killed in air crash from a helicopter near Poonch on 22nd November.

An I.A.F. Dakota crashed near Banihal on 22nd November. It carried 8 I.A.F. personnel. This was the second crash since 1947. The first crash involving civilians occurred in early 1949. Banihal still poses a great danger particularly in winter.

The present requirement of tap water in Srinagar is 12,300,000 gallons. Harwan Reservoir yields 7,000,000 gallons. The filtration plant at Ganderbal costing Rs 5,300,000 is likely to yield 7,000,000 gallons which provides a reserve stock of 1,700,000 gallons. Demand on drinking water and consequent increase in standard of life is quite apparent.

Ninety-seven officers were prematurely retired as a drive against corruption in Government service. This established the contention that corruption was rampant which was already there before 1947, which slowly went up upto 1953 and which took wings after 1953. An Anti-Corruption week was celebrated during the second week of December when Government employees of all ranks took pledge to resist corruption. But the order was lost in Court.

Recently, Shafi Qureshi, a local lawyer, twice outwitted and baffled by the ruling party in the elections, started a branch of Indian National Congress, just to cut iron with iron. Overnight his signboard was broken, flag torn and office room locked. The few workers were first intimidated and later won over. On its ashes rose up instantly Indian National Congress Socialist Forum, subsidised and patronised.

It was Friday (27th December) following report of the news in early morning hours that holy hair (Moya Mukadas) had disappeared from Hazratbal Shrine. The city of Srinagar observed complete hartal, unprecedented within living memory. The National Conference flag at Lal Chowk was pulled down and in its place went up a black flag. Never was such mass resentment noticed. This sacred emblem was not even touched during Sikh and Dogra rule. Hartal continued for eleven days.

Shams-ud-Din, Chief Minister, who rushed from Jammu, announced closure of offices and a reward of one lakh plus Rs 500 p.a. for the clue of this theft. Processions were taken out, mass congregations held, Regal and Amrish Cinema houses and Hotel Pamposh belonging to Bakhshi Majid, also Police Station, Kothibagh were set on fire. Cars and jeeps belonging to the ruling party were smashed. Bakhshi Abdul Rashid was assaulted. Bakhshi brothers and their henchmen became targets of popular wrath. Two persons (one Hindu and one Muslim) were killed as a result of police firing on the second day. The way in which villagers came on foot in processions to participate in mourning was unprecedented. Free *langars* were started on road-sides to feed the villagers. At last the sacred relic was discovered by the Central Investigation party. Joy which followed was also unprecedented. Hartal actually continued upto 7th January. Dr Karan Singh, who specially came from Jammu, visited Hazratbal Shrine himself, offered Rs 6,000 and distributed Rs 1,000 each among eleven shrines . . . three Hindu, one Sikh and seven Muslim-for prayers. The sacred relic remained with the descendants of the Prophet until it passed on to Sayed Abdullah, the Muttawali of the Prophet's Shrine in Medina. In the year 1634 the Sayed left for India and settled in Bijapur where two years later he was granted a *jagir*. After 23 years he was succeeded by his son, Syed Hamid. Bijapur was taken over by Aurangzeb in 1692. Sayed Hamid left for Jahanabad to get his *jagir* restored. There he came in-contact with a Kashmiri trader Khwaja Nur-ud-Din Ishbari who gave some money in return for the holy relic. Hamid was directed in a dream by the Prophet to pass on the holy relic to Nur-ud-Din. On his way to Kashmir Nur-ud-Din halted at Lahore where Aurangzeb relieved him of the holy relic and ordered it to be kept in Ajmer. As a result of this shock Nur-ud-Din died at Lahore. His friend Medanish was requested, however, to secure it back if he could. Aurangzeb, too, was directed by the Prophet in a dream to pass it on to Medanish who finally brought it to Kashmir. It was first kept in Khanqah Naqashband and later removed to Hazratbal Shrine originally built by Shah Jehan. This is the story behind it.

The sacred relic was put back in the Shrine on 10th January, 1964. The day following was observed a public holiday and there were illuminations. One lakh of rupees was provided for its watch and ward.

The 'holy relic' episode had not yet subsided that Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad stated that people of Kashmir demanded (a) enquiry into 1953 happenings, (b) release of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, (c) Plebiscite. Again an intriguing situation was created.

It was suspected that there was hand of State's and Centre's high-ups in the theft of the holy hair to liquidate Bakhshi and his nominee Shams-ud-Din from the administration. The Indian Govt. employed all its resources to find out the culprit but its spies and detectives alongwith trained dogs failed miserably. A deep-laid conspiracy could not, therefore, be ruled out.

A whisper also did go round that Bakhshi had removed the holy hair to Jammu for *deedar* of his ailing mother.

The year 1964 did not augur well. Following hartal on 25th January attempts to take out processions and hold public meetings were foiled by the Indian Police. But stone-throwing and lathi charges from either side could not be averted. Firing was also resorted to at two spots, Maharaja Bazar and Budshah Chowk which resulted in at least three deaths. Quite a number was wounded. Anti-India resentment went up to a high pitch. Republic Day celebrations which followed lacked popular enthusiasm.

The sacred relic was shown at Hazratbal on 5th February with due ceremonies. It was identified a couple of days earlier by 15 Divines headed by the Faqir of Shalimar in presence of the Prime Minister and Lal Bahadur Shastri, Minister of the Central Government.

Three names charged with complicity in the theft of the holy relic from Hazratbal Shrine were made known in Indian Parliament on 17th February—Kh. Abdul Rahim Bandey (custodian of the relic), Abdur Rashid and Qadir Butt.

One I.A.F. transport plane which carried nine high army officers among the crew was found missing the same day while on its way from Srinagar to Udhampur.

Newspapers reached the following target:

Dailies	...	8
Bi-weeklies	...	2
Weeklies	...	28
Fortnightlies	...	3
Monthlies	...	6

On the eve of his exit from office Shams-ud-Din announced (1) retirement age 58, (2) Transport Advisory Board to examine permits, (3) Forest Advisory Board, (4) Four acres of land to every agricultural graduate, (5) Minimum salary Rs 100, (6) District Employment Boards.

Shams-ud-Din Cabinet ended on 28th February at the intervention of the Union Government. The end of Shams-ud-Din was the end of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's domination on Kashmir politics.

The new Cabinet consisted of:

Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, Sayed Mir Qasim, Durga Prashad Dhar, Trilochan Dutt.

Sadiq came of a well-to-do family of Batamaloo. His father was origin-ally a *rafugar*. The family carried on pashmina and foodgrains trade. After taking his law degree, Sadiq contacted Abdullah and joined the Muslim Conference. It was about three years after 1931 outbreak. Since then he stuck to politics facing failures and successes with a cool head and resolute mind. He could be ranked among the intelligentsia but he could not boast of any mass following as such.

The new Government withdrew Section 144 and Rule 50, released all detenus, disbanded Peace Brigade and *Khuftan Faqr* (secret reporters) scattered in temples, mosques, and Gurdwara committees and Halqas. It was apparently calm on the surface, but 'self-determination' and plebiscite were going deeper into the soil.

Abdullah received a total allowance of Rs 60,259 ending 1963. His daily diet allowance was Rs 10, family allowance Rs 1,000 p.m., postage allowance Rs 15 p.m., clothing and bedding allowance Rs 420 p.a. A special class prisoner was given a special treatment.

Revenue estimates for 1964-65 amounted to Rs 3,648.57 lakhs showing a deficit of Rs 197.67 lakhs. Central aid for 1964-65 was Rs 210,70,000.

Total blasts in recent years came to 284. Behind these enemy action could be visualised.

The Conspiracy, Hazratbal Riot and Srinagar Bomb cases were withdrawn by the Government on 8th April. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was released from the Special Jail the same day without any condition being attached to his release. He and his comrades were given an unprecedented ovation at Jammu and *en route* to Srinagar. There were processions, receptions, illuminations and fireworks indicating that the soul of Kashmir was not dead.

The release was brought about by (a) protracted trial, (b) international pressure, (c) Pakistani and Chinese menace, (d) local feeling, (e) prosecution witnesses turning hostile, (f) prosecution vakils, lawyers resigning. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah stated after his release that his stand was the same as it was in 1953 i.e., self-determination for the people. The final status of Kashmir was yet to be decided and the parties to the tangle were (a) India (b) Pakistan and (c) the people of Kashmir.

He entered Srinagar on 18th. The city looked like a bride. Lakhs of people were on their legs to receive him from Sonawar to Mujahid Manzil. 'Plebiscite' to which the people were geared up was on the lip.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's visit to Delhi for talks on the Kashmir issue did not bear any fruit. India was adamant on accession being final so was Abdullah on plebiscite being the right of the people.

On an invitation from the President of Pakistan, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah flew to Rawalpindi on 24th May for a two week visit. With him did also go Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, Sufi Mohammad Akbar, Maulvi Mohammad Sayeed and others. There also he stressed on plebiscite and self-determination.

Jawaharlal Nehru passed away at Delhi on 27th May. His death shocked entire Kashmir. The Kashmir problem was mainly his creation which he left unsolved in his lifetime. His ashes were brought to Jammu on 5th June by Dr. Karan Singh for immersion into Tawi. To Srinagar they were brought by G. M. Sadiq on 6th for immersion into Jhelum at Sangam (Shadipur) on 8th. To Ladakh they were taken

by Kushak Bakula. Nehru had made a will that his ashes be immersed into Ganges at Prayag and other important rivers of India and dust thrown into the fields from aeroplanes in all the States. Twelve days' mourning was due to the great hero.

On July 2 over 60 houses and 150 shops were gutted in Handwara town. This was yet another big fire in recent years. Immediate relief was provided to over 300 persons.

Politics took a sad turn in June. There was Sadiq group installed in power. There was Bakhshi group dethroned. There was Maulvi Farooq group brought into limelight by theft of 'holy relic'. There was Abdullah group frustrated, 'shouting wild'. It was not possible for a leader of about 34 years' standing to recognise a 'political mushroom'. Clashes broke out reminding one of scenes thirty years ago. Bakra versus Gada (goat versus fish)—goat representing Yusuf Shah and fish representing Abdullah. All India Jana Sangh also attempted conquest of Kashmir by opening a branch for the first time.

Fourteen explosions were reported in the State since March this year.

An increase of about 60,000 was announced in the rationed population of the city in July. The last increase was announced in 1956. The total rationed population was little less than three lakhs. The increase in population is alarming particularly in view of food shortage in the State.

This year Id-Milad processions were taken out on two different days—one led by Abdullah and the other by Farooq, which established the rift between reactionaries and progressives, reminding one of Sheikh versus Yusuf Shah (fish versus goat) before 1947.

A fresh Cabinet was announced by G. M. Sadiq on 26th July.

It consisted of G. M. Sadiq	}	Ministers
D. P. Dhar		
Trilochan Dutt		
Ghulam Rasool Kar		
Harbans Singh Azad	}	Ministers of State
Ayub Khan		
Kushak Bakula		

(Kar started his career as local correspondent of Radio Kashmir in June 1948).

Complete hartal was observed on August 9 by the Muslims of the Valley. Black-flags were flown on houses and mosques reminding the nation of 1953 that plebiscite was the only solution of the Kashmir issue. This gave further fillip to uncertainty that already prevails in the State. Abdullah's speech at Idgah indicated no compromise on the issue of plebiscite.

The birth of a son to Dr. Karan Singh at Bombay was greeted. Royalists have gone down in numbers but they have not gone out altogether.

The State received a total loan of Rs 77 crores since 1947-48. Interest on this rose to Rs 163,000,000. Rs 4.50 crores were paid back against loan and Rs 3 crores against interest. The balance to be paid still stands at Rs 70 crores. Investment on development works amounted to Rs 77.43 crores (Central loan Rs 48.98 crores).

The year 1964 was on the whole an inauspicious year. Visitors did not come as they used to before. Plan projects were not taken up with usual zeal. Clashes between followers of Abdullah and Farooq grew in volume—arson, loot and murder. The manner a visitor was killed in early spring and the general treatment meted out to visitors kept them away. This told badly on the economy of the Valley. Law and order situation was let loose. Uncertainty never became so tangible during the last 17 years as this year.

Since the Cease-fire line was drawn there occurred many a clash but tension mounted up on rare occasions. Between June and August as many as 426 violations were reported killing 22 Indians.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad and six others were taken into custody on 22nd September under Defence of India Rules. It was apprehended that majority of Legislature Party owning allegiance to Bakhshi might create hurdles in the smooth working of administration. Corruption charge against him was still under investigation. Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council were both prorogued. The arrest, however, caused no commotion which showed that he was no leader, and if he was one any time he had lost confidence of the people.

Sadiq Government announced an allowance of Rs 10 p.m. to employees drawing upto Rs 100 and Rs 8 to those drawing between Rs 101 and Rs 200. This involved an expenditure of Rs 65 lakhs per year.

Since 1947 Prime Minister after Prime Minister fell and fell very badly. First came Ram Chandra Kak under fire, then Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and then Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad followed by yet another one. They were all Kashmiris. If their fall did not come about with the connivance of Indian Government but it did come with their knowledge.

A five-day session of the Legislature was convened on 7th October but the proceedings revealed that the Government was losing ground and India her stand.

Audit report ending March 1962 revealed that out of 1,401 Co-operative Societies, 139 had failed sustaining a loss of Rs 77,000 and 554 had become dormant. Embezzlements, thefts, corrupt practices were order of the day.

The Cabinet was enlarged on 22nd October by the addition of the following:

1. Girdhari Lal Dogra,
2. Pir Ghias-ud-Din,
3. Mohammad Ayub Khan,
4. Ali Mohammad Tariq, Minister of State,
5. Major Piar Singh, Minister of State.

(Ali Mohammad Tariq is read hardly upto Middle standard and before 1947 was only a stray boy. He started his career first as News Reader and then as Field Publicity Officer in the Information and Broadcasting Department. His meteoric rise in politics should inspire many an aspirant.)

The resignations tendered by Trilochan Dutt, Harbans Singh Azad and Kushak Bakula indicated that all was not well and that Sadiq was faced with a grim situation. Platforms and news-papers created a grave problem in the border State. The experiment to give a trial to democracy was on the anvil. The official tour of the Valley by the Prime Minister in November was a sad experiment. Popular reception was not only poor but there were hostile demonstrations. One person died of injuries at Baramulla.

About 90 houses and 160 to 200 shops were destroyed in a fire on 5th November at Kupwara, 45 miles from Srinagar. About 700 people lost their houses. Kangan also suffered on this account though not to the same degree.

About 1,000 beads of semi-precious stones dating back to 1000 B.C. were discovered at megalithic site of Burzahama. Reddish in colour these were found in a pot.

The B.B.C. is estimated to have accumulated a huge immoveable property during the last seventeen years of absolute power.

Plots and orchards (eleven)	...	Rs	26.30 Lakhs
Residential houses (eight)	...	Rs	27.45 Lakhs
Cars and Jeeps (twenty-six)	...	Rs	15.00 Lakhs
Business concerns (six)	...	Rs	10.20 Lakhs
Cinemas and Hotels (four)	...	Rs	62.50 Lakhs
Total	...	Rs	141.45 Lakhs

This is proof if a proof were needed of how the people's cause was served.

A Convention of Plebiscite Front held at Sopore on 14th and 15th November under the presidentship of Mirza Afzal Beg passed resolutions (a) Hazratbal theft case, (b) rising prices, (c) plebiscite-quit Kashmir.

About one hundred houses were gutted in a huge fire in village Butapura (Tehsil Budgam). About 200 families were rendered homeless. Their immediate relief posed yet another problem.

The same day Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah gave a challenge to India to concede self-determination to the people or else he would launch another struggle for emancipation.

Government of India opposed move for abrogation of Article 370 from the Constitution in Parliament on political grounds. Instead it approved removal of clauses preventing (a) President's Rule in the State, (b) application of laws passed in Parliament during the Rule to the State, (c) direct election of members to Parliament from the State. This process of erosion from 1953 was on its way to final abrogation of Article 370 if conditions favoured.

Bakhshi Abdul Rashid who wielded enormous power and amassed great wealth by fair and foul means during one decade was not heard of since December 28 (1963).

The biggest social feature of fifties was that co-education led to inter-dining and inter-marriage which sparked off for a big blaze. Recruitment of fair sex to services revolutionized the entire social structure evolved during the feudal period. Freedom of faith, freedom of movement and freedom from discipline did not necessitate mass conversions which could not have been otherwise avoided.

The severe cold wave followed by season's first snowfall which hit Kashmir on 10-11 December was unparalleled within the knowledge of the present generation. Roads were blocked, water taps frozen and electric and telephone wires broken. People were reminded of the times their fathers and forefathers had lived in.

Air and road communication between India and Kashmir remained suspended for twelve days. Inter-district communication also remained suspended. If electricity had not been partially restored within a couple of days rumours would have created chaos. During the period of cold wave essential commodities did not only become scarce but their prices shot up to heights. Deaths also there were many.

The year also witnessed a tug between labour and intellect—sometimes the tug was taken to extremes in day to day working of life—and intellect was often humbled down. It set the Pandit a —thinking for choice of vocation.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was released from internment at Tara Niwas (Udhampur) on 13th December on grounds of health. Political pressure from his party also might have influenced the decision.

Plan contribution about rupees 20 crores plus revenue about Rs 20 crores kept up tempo in a population of about 35 lakhs but the time was worsening economically as well as politically.

To bid farewell to the year 1964 yet another big fire broke out at Chrar-i-Sharif gutting about thirty houses and equal number of shops.

The year 1965 dawned with the welcome news of National Conference being converted into a branch of Indian National Congress. 1931 brought into being Muslim Conference which was converted

into National Conference in 1939. Now the same Conference becoming a National Congress raises just one question whether the soul of national life was congenial. Physical conversions carry things no further if there is no mental conversion side by side.

In October 1947, the *chowk* at Amira Kadal, came to be known as Red Square. This was the year of Raid. Here many a political decision were taken. Here many a criminal were exhibited. And it was here that the National Conference claimed to have picked up administration of the country. For the last seventeen years this place had gained importance, public speeches were made here, processions were organised here, and the historic hand-shake and exchange of pledge between Nehru and Abdullah took place here. The main emblem of the Red Square suddenly disappeared on 7th of January and not a single tear was shed by any one. History was thus passed into oblivion.

Complete hartal was observed by the Muslims of Kashmir on 15th January to protest against the application of Sections 356 and 357 of the Indian Constitution to Jammu and Kashmir. At a public meeting at Hazratbal, Sheikh Abdullah told the people to refuse to join the Indian National Congress. This was an expression of the feeling that the soul of the people was not with India. There was some mob violence also which the Police countenanced.

For about 1,300 Muslims of Kashmir to go to Mecca and Haj pilgrimage indicates the improved economic position of the State since 1947.

Conversion of National Conference into National Congress on 20th January was a great leap forward in face of Abdullah's boycott move.

A one-man commission was set up by the Government against Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad to enquire into (a) wealth accumulated by Bakhshi brothers and their relatives since 1947, (b) power misused by Bakhshi. Mr N. R. Iyengar, a retired Judge of the Supreme Court, constituted the Commission. An immoveable property worth hardly a few thousands in 1947 having shot up to over rupees one and a half crore in 17 years posed a serious problem.

The revenue of the State for 1964-65 rose to Rs. 1,101,43 lakhs. Deficit amounted to Rs. 4.44 lakhs. The state was allotted Rs. 1.26 crores in the fourth Five-Year Plan.

About 200 Plebiscite Front leaders and their supporters were taken into custody early in the morning on 7th March. Such patch works have never solved political problems. This has been particularly witnessed in Kashmir since 1931. The valley once again put on an appearance of a Police State. There was hartal for three days. Life Insurance Corporation Office and Biscoe Memorial High School building at Sheikh Bagh were burnt. How?

While abroad, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah presented the Kashmir case to the people. He visited London, Paris, Algiers and U.A.R., Saudi Arabia and met Chou-en-Lai also. At Algiers and in U.A.R., he was treated as State guest, an honour generally given to leaders of

ruling parties. India was naturally annoyed. Whatever the background, there were mistakes on both sides. For aught we know the conditions laid down by Hari Singh for accession were not taken notice of at all. Abdullah compromised the position on three things—defence, foreign relations and communications. Guarantees for this State were incorporated in the Constitution which was passed in 1950. Subsequently, the constitutional Pandits at Delhi decided on a policy of slow withdrawal of these guarantees. This annoyed Abdullah. Their mistakes were that they had not judged Abdullah properly. Nehru and Abdullah had come too close to each other and yet the former had not made a proper study of the latter, otherwise he would not allow his Government to precipitate withdrawing from the position even if that position was a temporary one. Abdullah, on the other hand, instead of explaining his stand *vis-à-vis* India, started a wild campaign of criticism which exposed many things ahead of time.

The Jammu session of the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly passed a resolution unanimously recommending change of designations from Sadar-e-Riyasat and Prime Minister into Governor and Chief Minister. Thus a political game of wits was in full swing.

The Central Government cancelled all endorsements in Passport granted to Sheikh Abdullah, except for the purpose of Haj pilgrimage and timed it to end of April. This action was taken on 5th April.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad received an enthusiastic reception on his arrival in Srinagar on 22nd April. This was in contrast to the popular vote of no-confidence passed in his family in December 1963. Politically the people of Kashmir are not understandable and for this their history is responsible.

The Union Government's response to proposal for change of designations was quick. Sadar-e-Riyasat is now Governor and the Prime Minister is Chief Minister and beneath them flow the political waters of Indian National Congress.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg were served with a notice at Delhi Airport under Defence of India Rules on 8th May morning as they returned from Mecca. They were directed to proceed to Ootacamund where they would remain within the municipal limits of the hill station. This was described as neither arrest nor internment. Immediately the news was received here there was hartal demonstrating not only loyalty to Abdullah but the will of the people to pursue self-determination for the State. Attacks were made on vehicles and Government property. There was lathi-charge and firing. Five persons were killed and a number of people injured. About one hundred persons were taken into custody.

The procession taken out by Muslims on May 10 was so big that it took it about an hour to pass near Ganpatyar, the width of the road being fully covered. Release of Abdullah was the unanimous demand. Seven-day hartal, in the first instance, was significant.

August 1953 and May 1965 stand in contrast. This time Srinagar and a few villages only were shaken. According to unofficial sources

death toll did not go beyond 50. 1953 provided many a benefit to the people. 1965 provided no such benefit. People have started thinking twice before taking a leap—not that the feeling is dead.

Rains continuing to the end of May is not a welcome sign. This year (1965) carried *Kangri*, usually given up by end of March, a couple of months forward. Even the disaster of a flood was averted by just two feet below flood level at Sangam. The unexpected flow of visitors saved a worsening economic position to some extent but it was too short.

The political situation deteriorated again when in June civil disobedience movement was started which brought forward volunteers to court arrest. Though it did not gain much momentum, but its propaganda value was not altogether lost.

It was 14th of June about 6 p.m. Three to five civil resisters suddenly appeared at Lal Chowk. They could not be counted owing to armed police and crowd already there. They could hardly say 'Yeh Mulk Hamara Hai' and they were put in the police van. The whole scene was over within five minutes. This went on twice a week.

The discovery of oil in Naugam is likely to put Kashmir on the oil map of India. The village is within the radius of ten miles from Srinagar.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's decision to retire from politics and his advice to National Conference workers to merge themselves in the National Congress at the two days' convention put to rest all speculations, but the decision was not sincere.

Brein village near Nishat was ablaze on 8th July. About a hundred houses were gutted. Electric short circuit caused the damage. Governor Karan Singh and other leaders visited the spot and distributed relief.

The Third Five Year Plan which ran into Rs 67.93 crores yielded little fruit. The Fourth Five Year Plan envisages Rs 136.77 crores.

Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg was flown to Srinagar on 5th August on the advice of doctors. He was interned at Nishat Bagh.

The Civil Disobedience Movement being on five resisters courted arrest twice a week. But 9th of August flared up the situation. It was a day of hartal as usual. This year batches of five resisters donned in black offered for arrest. The same day Cease-fire line was crossed by armed 'Mujahids'. The whole country was taken aback. It looked like second edition of 1947. The people did not join the infiltrators but their sympathies were divided. The first shot was fired from Gangabug village. Budgam and Kupwara were the worst-affected areas. Life in Srinagar and other towns continued to be normal. That was a wonder. The security forces while combing the affected areas encountered many a pitched battle. There were many fires. The biggest one was in Batmaloo near Tatoo Ground on 14th August in which about 300 houses were gutted. The sight of refugees—Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs was painful. Almost the whole valley came under mopping operations.

The so-called 'Mujahids' were backed up by their own Radio Station (Voice of Kashmir) and a war council which repudiated all treaty obligations. How many had crossed and how many were killed could not be assessed. There was heavy police and military casualty also.

Jammu was not spared. Progress of the Five Year Plan came to a standstill and visitors made good their way back. Even Civil Disobedience movement disappeared.

President of India's flying visit to Srinagar on 26th August immediately after security forces had crossed the Cease-fire line in Titwal and taken possession of three 'chowkis' was significant. He said that India always sought peaceful means for settlement of disputes but if there was show of force India would not lag behind to meet force by force.

Pakistan took up the stand that it was a local revolt. Indian stand was that it was armed personnel from Pakistan who had crossed the Cease-fire line just to create confusion inside. It gave an occasion to the world Press to wake up and the world organisation to make an uproar.

The capture of Haji Pir Pass in Uri sector on 30th August by the security forces was yet another step forward. The border clashes developed into a semi-war on 1st September, when Pakistani forces came into direct conflict with Indian forces in the Chhamb sector where respective air forces and tanks also operated.

On 6th of September India made a land attack on West Pakistan and Pakistan declared war against India and it was wonderful that the Valley remained calm, incidents with infiltrators apart. Every day life continued as usual. The first air attack on the aerodrome by Pakistan on 7th September took the whole city by surprise. There was no panic at all.

Extract from Russall Brines's book '*The Indo Pakistani Conflict*', 'A facade of logic, morality, and legality has been carefully maintained but behind it each belligerent has consistently attempted to cancel out the military blunder of 1947-48 by enlisting the support of the world behind her 'moral' right to claim all of Kashmir. She has mixed power with submission and political manipulation. . . . all gestures for plebiscite were nullified by Pakistan's refusal to evacuate Azad Kashmir in advance of a vote. This created an impasse which has persisted, stultifying United Nations efforts to solve the problem. Pakistan opened her guerilla attack against Kashmir on August 5. The plan was completed before end of May. . . . compulsory military training was established for youths in 'Azad Kashmir'. In June Pakistan created a special 'Mujahid' (crusader) force of 150,000 strength. The main assault force for the Kashmir guerilla campaign was organized in Murree on May 26, 1965. It was composed of some 30,000 men and was known as 'Gibraltar forces'. General Akhtar Hussain Malik was in Supreme Command. . . U.N. was informed that they had instructions to destroy bridges, vital roads, attack police

stations, supply dumps, Army Headquarters, installations and inflict casualties on Indian forces. Pakistan denied any connection with the uprising. The guerillas fighting the Government were the sons of the Kashmir province who had risen to defend themselves against Indian repression.

The Pakistani tank attack in the Bhimbar-Chhamb area on September 1 clearly marked the first major escalation of the conflict, a shift from limited infantry action across the C.F.L. (Cease-fire Line) to tank operations across new and more vulnerable terrain.

The Indians immediately charged that Pakistan also had crossed an international border for the first time and called this as legal justification for their own subsequent violation of the Punjab border.

The charge became a factor in the long diplomatic effort by each side to blame the other for aggression.

On September 3, the Pakistanis captured the village of Jaurian which lies fourteen miles east of the C.F.L. and five miles north of the Pakistan-Jammu border. It is linked by road to Akhnur, and soon the head of the armoured column was six miles from the strategic bridge city. The column eventually reached a point four miles distant.

Independent sources say the Pakistanis should have been able to capture Akhnur if their surprise attack against inadequate defences had been adequately exploited. The drive was slowed, however, by the small Munawarwali river and by dilatory tactics.

The Indians quickly established new reinforced defensive positions.

Meanwhile, New Delhi had been stirred by parallel developments.

The Pakistani Commander-in-Chief, General Mahommad Musa on September 5, sent his troops the oft-quoted message: 'You have got your teeth into him. Bite deeper and deeper until he is destroyed. And destroy him you will, God willing'.

Three days earlier, Pakistan had rejected U Thant's first appeal for peace. On September 3, the Secretary General stated in his first report to the Security Council: 'I have not obtained from the Government of Pakistan any assurance that the cease-fire and the C.F.L. will be respected hence forth or that efforts would be exerted to restore conditions to normal along that line. 'I did receive assurance from the Government of India conveyed orally by their representative at the United Nations, that India would act with restraint with regard to any retaliatory acts and will respect the Cease-Fire Agreement and the C.F.L. if Pakistan does likewise'.

On September 4, Peking's Foreign Minister Chen Yi stretched a brief stop in Karachi into a six-hour conference with Bhutto. The Chinese official gave oblique support but no concrete reassurance to Pakistan in a statement backing the 'just action taken by Pakistan to repel the Indian armed provocation'.

Finally, Indian military leaders were aroused by an attack on September 5, by a single Pakistani F 86-F Sabre jet, on anti-aircraft installations near Amritsar.

Although the attack was limited, it was regarded as the opening of a new front in the Punjab. Amritsar, the Sikh stronghold, was far distant from previous areas of action.

The Indians launched a major attack on September 6, across the international border towards Lahore, the fabled city of religion and history, lying fifteen miles from India.

A second offensive began the next day against Sialkot, an important railway and road centre, fifty miles to the north.

In the effort to reduce the pressure against Akhnur, Sialkot was militarily the more vital target. It was a main supply and staging centre for that area of the front and, in Indian hands, would have seriously threatened West Pakistan.

The Lahore offensive started first only because the troops involved in it were better prepared to meet the need for swift movement.

The diversionary effort worked, and Pakistan withdrew the bulk of her armoured strength from the Akhnur sector to meet the new challenge. As a result, the threat to Kashmir quickly subsided and it became a secondary theatre for the remainder of the conflict.

Pakistan's offensive in this quarter had been serious enough to change the entire context of the war. Some competent observers believed it could have captured Akhnur even after the start of India's Punjab offensive, if Pakistani armour had not been redeployed to West Pakistan.

Although the Indians claimed heavy damage to Pakistani tanks during this withdrawal, it was accomplished with considerable logistical skill. Pakistani forces continued to occupy a substantial stretch of Indian territory.

The Lahore offensive was a three-pronged attack across a thirty-mile front. The northern column drove towards Lahore along the Grand Trunk Road across the Wagh border crossing.

The southern force struck from Khem Karan in India, towards Kasur, in Pakistan.

Roughly in the centre, a third column advanced from the Indian village of Khalra on a north-west ward axis towards the fortified Pakistani village of Burki.

The immediate military objective was to establish control over the east bank of a long irrigation canal which also serves as a defensive moat for Lahore.

This feature is known both as the Bambansala-Ravi-Bedian (B.R.B.) Canal and the Ichhogil Canal. It runs for forty-seven miles west of the border and parallel to it, at distances of between three and nine miles from India.

The canal is 140 feet wide and 15 feet deep. Built several years ago, it serves as a tank trap facing eastward, and heavy fortifications and gun emplacements, many disguised as mud huts, reinforce it.

The canal was designed deliberately for military purposes and approaches from the western side were prepared so as to facilitate better movement of vehicles across the water than is possible from the east.

In staging their offensive, Indian version said one of its chief purpose was to prevent an anticipated Pakistani attack across the same border into India. The Indians feared a Pakistani attempt to drive to New Delhi behind an armoured column a threat that was emphasised, they claimed, by what they identified as captured Pakistani documents.

The war soon spread over a front described as 1,200 miles long and even longer, if the extreme flank areas of periodic confrontation were included. The main fighting, however, remained in the Punjab.

On September 8, India began to advance westward in the desert along the border between Pakistani Sind and Rajasthan, some 400 miles south-west of the Central combat area.

This was a diversionary thrust, the purpose was to keep Pakistani forces pinned down in the principal city of Karachi, west of the area of the desert advance.

By the end of the campaign, the Indians claimed control over more than thirty miles of the east bank of the canal. The implication is, that they held positions on the canal itself, but Pakistani sources say the actual line of control ran irregularly to the eastward of the waterway.

In any case, the canal in this sector had become a barrier against the movement of armour either eastward or westward, because all the principal bridges were destroyed.

Indian forces held a wedge of land on the Pakistani side of the border totalling around 140 square miles, a figure generally confirmed by independent sources.

If the purpose was an offensive-defensive attack to destroy the enemy's striking power without attempting to penetrate deeper into Pakistan, as the Indians said, the major objective seems to have been accomplished.

But the Pakistanis insist that the occupation or encirclement of Lahore was the primary objective and that the Indians launched thirteen major attacks of brigade strength or greater without breaking Pakistani defences. The 'victory' continues to be extolled in Pakistan and a monument to the battle is being erected in Lahore.

Pakistan launched its major counter-thrust on the Indian left flank to the south.

The Indian column, advancing from Ferozepur through Khem Karan towards Pakistani Kasur, took its initial objectives easily. But the opposition was so slight that the commanding officer, fearing a trap, halted the advance and withdrew to the west bank of the Sutlej river.

The Pakistani armoured attack, beginning on September 7, forced the Indians back to their starting point.

The main Pakistani tank force, the First Armoured Division, was in the Sialkot sector. But the Pakistanis had concentrated it around Kasur to prevent a feared encirclement movement towards Lahore. The division, created and trained by Americans, was equipped with heavy American Patton tanks, light American Shermans and medium French Chaffees.

This column of clanking land war-raft, with its artillery and infantry, constituted the principal threat to New Delhi, if such a threat existed, for a second American-organized armoured division was incomplete.

India's pre-war concern over the American equipment was perhaps reflected by the fact that an official citation commending a non-commissioned officer for heroism noted his action against 'several of the supposedly invulnerable Patton tanks. . . .'

The Pakistan First Armoured and a supporting infantry division opened a major offensive on the night of September 8, choosing darkness because Pattons are equipped with infra-red eyes for night-fighting. Whereas the heavy Centurion tanks, India's best, were blind after sunset.

Indian accounts say that more than 225 Pakistani tanks were involved, but the active strength for such a division is between 125 and 150 tanks; further, the Pakistani commander is said to have held substantial force in reserve.

In any case, Pakistan threw a heavy concentration of armour into the battle, outnumbering the Indian Centurions and Shermans by a substantial ratio, if somewhat less than the Indian figure of four-to-one.

In this most decisive engagement of the war, Pakistan launched five separate attacks at Indian positions during the next day and a half, seeking a break-through which was never achieved.

At one point, the attackers penetrated fifteen miles into Indian territory, but were beaten back. Originally, the assault exceeded expectations; then it was stopped.

The attackers were able to send such an extensive force across the B.R.B. Canal, Indians say, because they secretly built a tunnel beneath the waterway.

Syed Mir Qasim was sworn in as a Minister with Cabinet rank on 10th September. This raised the total strength to 11. Outside the Ministry Mr Qasim worked as Congress Chief. Trilochan Dutt was also sworn in as a Minister on 18th. He was Congress Chief for Jammu. Could enlargement of ministry promote war effort. Mir Qasim's deputation to New York was understandable.

After prolonged deliberations, the Security Council ordered on 20th September India and Pakistan to stop fighting by 22nd noon and withdraw their troops to 5th August position after which the basic cause of conflict would be examined. This meant India to surrender her gains in Uri, Titwal and Kargil sectors and Pakistan to surrender her gains in Akhnoor, Chhamb and Jaurian sectors.

While this was going on China was not quiet. She gave an ultimatum to India to remove installations and encroachments from Sikhim and Ladakh borders before midnight of 22nd. India denied any encroachment on the other side of the border and even if there were any she told her to remove them forthwith. The threat meant a provocation for war which India did not want. But before the expiry of threat China declared that installations had been removed by India.

Audit Report for 1964-65 revealed Rs 6.67 crores revenue deficit out of which Rs 480 lakhs was a forest royalty arrear. Government assets were transferred to J. and K. Industries Ltd. without approval of Legislature.

Cease-fire became effective from 3.30 a.m. (23rd September). But the political solution lay ahead. Air service from Delhi to Srinagar was resumed on 28th September. Hot war was followed by a cold war, each accusing the other of violation, misinterpretation and hurdles. The Kashmiri Musalman would not win the battle which Sheikh Abdullah had lost for him diplomatically in 1947.

History does not believe in miracles nor should it. Yet Kashmir was saved by miracle four times so far:

1. 1947—Kashmir's future was undecided. Raiders poured in. Defence had collapsed. There was a halt at Shalteng.
2. 1953—Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was arrested. There was local upsurge.
3. 1963—Holy hair from Hazratbal disappeared. The whole country was shaken—urban as well as rural.
4. 1965—Armed infiltrators (Mujahids) crossed the cease-fire line and started 'hit and run' battles. Local population remained unmoved.

Plebiscite movement apparently passed into the hands of students which again gained a momentum. For the first time girl students joined boy students. Processions, rustications and public demonstrations were followed by the arrest of Maulvi Farooq, Mohammad Issac and other top leaders on 10th morning. There were lathi charges and firings. Some deaths were also reported. The city was plunged into curfew and police march. The old palace of Dogra House got burnt, at least part of it. The upper two storeys were completely gutted. Maharaja Pratap Singh and his Ranis were housed in it. It was the building in which many a Prime minister had their office. It was the building in which the first Legislative Assembly held its sittings. All the fire brigades of the city including the Army fire brigade could not control it for several hours in the night. This time a number of offices were housed in this building. Hartal was called off on 16th October only to be repeated two days later when a clash took place between the police and the mob at Hazratbal and the occasion was exploited and given a religious colour that the Shrine was desecrated. Government assurance that a judicial enquiry would be held was not heeded. M/s Masoodi and Kara along with a batch of workers were taken into custody. Many office hands from some

departments left their jobs in sympathy with the movement. Municipality, Food Control and Silk Factory were the first targets. It is estimated that there were about fifty deaths in police encounters following 5th August disturbances. The very fact that usual autumn session of the Legislature was not convened in Srinagar and that the University Convocation was shifted to Jammu indicated that all was not well. Sayed Mir Qasim did address the U. N. General Assembly as a member of the delegation, but it was not the soul of the people that spoke. India walked out of the Security Council meeting on 25th October on the plea that Kashmir was her domestic affair and needed not be discussed. This was a big step at the international level after 17 years. Educational institutions which had been closed with the outbreak of the movement continued their closure.

In spite of the fact that the price of Shali was raised from Rs 16 to Rs 25 per khirwar there was poor response from the people selling surplus grain to the State. Poor crop was also a reason.

The full bench of the Jammu and Kashmir High Court in its judgment (27th December) stated that Ayyangar Commission on corruption charges against Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was unconstitutional. All the three judges were Bakhshi's men—one was favoured, another was raised from dust, third one was imported with his consent—no other judgment could be expected. 'Favour' ultimately triumphed in the battle against corruption itself.

Kathua was linked up with Pathankot by rail (20th January).

The State entered into the new year with a 23 crore Plan outlay and prospects of Tashkent Conference at which Lal Bahadur Shastri and Mohammad Ayub Khan were to attempt a solution of the Kashmir problem with of course Soviet blessings. Since 18 years the issue is hanging fire. All along Russia was on the Indian side.

While Kashmir was anxiously awaiting a break in dry weather (no winter snows so far), there broke out a huge fire in Baramulla (9th January) gutting about 100 houses and 150 shops. These national losses (by fires and floods) have always been a dead weight on Kashmir and her economy. Next day the news came from Tashkent that a joint declaration signed by the two leaders of India and Pakistan had been issued. This declaration was fair and honourable to both. It is based on nine points, two chief being (1) both countries adhere to U. N. Charter and declare not to have recourse to force and agree to settle their disputes through peaceful means, (2) both countries agree to withdraw by February its all armed personnel to positions as on August 5. That such an agreement came after 18 years was in itself a hopeful sign.

While reaction to this was yet to come there came a sad news only the next day from Tashkent that Lal Bahadur Shastri had expired. The whole country was engulfed in grief. His state cremation on 12th near Raj Ghat was a fitting tribute to him—universal mourning and participation by almost all countries of the world. Offices remained closed for two days in the State.

Inclusion of Mohammad Shafi Qureshi, resident of notorious Maisma, a person of doubtful antecedents, into the Central Cabinet which was sworn in on 24th January, under the leadership of Indira Gandhi, indicated which way the wind blew.

Continued drought from December previous year to 7th of February this year has neither been seen nor heard of during the last half century. Backbone of the country was already broken in the previous year due to war and internal disturbance. Crops like oilseeds and wheat were very poor.

According to Tashkent Declaration both Indian and Pakistani forces withdrew to 5th August positions peacefully and the position was clean slate on 25th February.

An aeroplane carrying 37 passengers bound for Jammu, Amritsar and Delhi crashed near Banihal on 7th February. This was the second civilian crash since 1948. Among the passengers were doctors, auditors, educationists and engineers, etc. whose death was a loss to the country and the nation. Master Zinda Koul's death at Jammu earlier was a blow to Kashmiri culture, language and literature though he never rose above 'tura daulat hamesha yar badar'.

The State budget for 1966-67 (Fourth Five-Year Plan) rose to Rs 43.08 crores. Before 1947 the revenue of the whole State had never gone up beyond 4½ crores.

The first film in Kashmiri 'Mainziraat' was released in early April. Marriage is a three day function in Kashmir and 'Mainziraat' is the first day when bride and bridegroom go through colour ceremony, their hands and feet being washed in colour. The pride of Kashmiri was up that within the last 19 years only he could find a place on the cultural map of India.

Supreme court judgment in the case 'State vs J & K High Court' was a stroke that silenced Bakhshi, and indirectly slapped the judges themselves for . . . corruption. Kashmir was saved from an internal turmoil.

In the first week of April the externment order against M/s Abdullah, Beg and Shah was extended by three months more. The reason for extension was not evident but it is presumed that East Bengal upheaval could be a reason. Hartal that followed a few days later to protest against the order was a partial success.

1971 Census

Population of the State	46,15,176	} Growth rate in Srinagar 4.15% Literacy males—18.3-26.41% females—9.1%
Kashmir Province	24,32,932	
Jammu Province	20,77,243	
Ladakh	1,05,001	
Srinagar city	Over 4 lakhs	

During 1961-71 the rate of growth of population was 2.96 per cent. The month of May started with good omens.

At Prime Minister of India's intervention the internal disputes among leaders were apparently settled. Qasim continued as Congress chief and Sadiq as Chief Minister.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his two companions were granted detention allowance of Rs 1,000 and Rs 800—Rs 1,000 P.M. for Abdullah and Rs 800 for Beg and Shah. This allowance was further enhanced subsequently.

Another instalment of dearness allowance was announced for Government employees drawing salary upto Rs 500. Over 96,000 employees including Pensioners were benefited costing the exchequer over Rupees one crore and fifty three lakhs plus Rs 20 lakhs for Local Bodies etc.

The Community development programme was started in the State in 1952. First came Budgam, Mansar and Ladakh blocks. These were followed by ten NES blocks and three CD blocks in 1954-55. During the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Five Year Plan 13, 27 and 18 blocks were opened. About 20 lakhs of rural population inhabiting 6,577 villages are organised under 68 blocks.

In spite of changing social and economic structure of rural life the obvious lack of interest of the villagers themselves is a reality. The result is social isolation, economic privation and technological stagnation.

Foundation stone of 5 crore watch factory (H.M.T. project) was laid at Zainakot on 17th May. It is expected to produce three lakh watches a year, employing 1,200 persons including 400 women.

20th May witnessed motorable road from Nehru Park on the Boulevard to the newly constructed Television Tower on the 1,000 ft. high Shankaracharya hill just near the temple itself thrown open adding to the beauty of the landscape. The road is 5.5 Km and 9.7 metres wide. Television Tower is 200 ft. from 1,400 year old temple. It has cost Rs 69 lakhs.

An ancillary unit of Indian Telephones Industries was inaugurated on 21st May. It will produce textile braided chords, alarm fuses etc. This industry has been undertaken at a capital cost of Rs 6.72 lakhs.

The construction of a tomb to the memory of Habā Khatun poet-cum-singer in her home village near Pandrethan followed by screening a film of Ghulam Ahmed Mahjoor and taking over of his houses in Tanbipora—Mitrigam (Pulwama) and at Tankipora as national monuments and also converting a delapidated hut of Mohammad Tabir Gani at Rajveri Kadal into a library was only a step towards cultural promotion by the much boasted national government.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was allowed to come to Kashmir for a three week period in connection with his daughter's marriage in the 1st week of June but he declined. His adamant stand wins laurels for him.

Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, arrived in Srinagar on 18th on a three day tour and immediately after her arrival she flew to Anantnag by helicopter where she addressed a public meeting.

The purpose was to study East Pakistan reaction. On the day following she proceeded to border area in the north and addressed three public meetings at Gurez, Tangdara and Handwara. Quoting present trouble in East Pakistan she said that the decision taken by Kashmir in 1947 was the right decision. She was determined to close up gap between rich and poor.

Since 1947 while every part of the State, be it a village or a town, has shown change, Pampore, Sopore and Ladakh look almost different in shape—Pampore because of saffron, Sopore because of fruit and Ladakh because of situation.

The one man Tribunal headed by Chief Justice of the State upheld the Government Order banning Plebiscite Front and externing Abdullah, Beg and Shah but exonerated the Front of receiving aid from Pakistan, or of resorting to any violence or anti-social activities or acts of sabotage.

There are about 4,500 Carpet Weavers in Srinagar employed in about 20 big and 600 small factories. Total production of carpets comes to about Rs 99 lakhs per year. Jammu and Kashmir Industrial Development Corporation has come forward to boost up this industry.

Rs 536 lakh Nallah-Mar development project was inaugurated on 28th June. It envisages construction of an 80 metre wide road with shops-cum-flats on both sides in place of 500 year old navigation canal.

Rs 9.50 crore Chinani hydel project was completed by the middle of July. Electricity from the power house will be supplied to Jammu and neighbouring States meeting its additional demand for 24 MGW power. It is a big engineering achievement in the region.

Baramulla gave a hot reception to G. M. Sadiq on 16th May. Just on his arrival to address a public meeting a bomb exploded near the place killing three and injuring more than fifty. Sadiq escaped unhurt. This demonstrated the mood of the people. Setting to fire entire office building of Polytechnic in Srinagar just prior to it had given no warning.

Devaluation of the rupee which brought down its value from sixteen annas to about seven and a half annas gave a flare-up to prices. Inferior quality rice sold in the open market from Rs 1.50 to Rs 1.75 per seer, a price never heard of. Prices of other commodities also soared up proportionately. An egg sold at 30 paise and a kadu 50 to 60 paise. And so on. And yet people built houses, performed ceremonies, donned better clothes and ate better. This was due to inflation. Departments multiplied, posts multiplied, salaries multiplied and a family which could hardly bag rupees hundred a month before bagged now a thousand rupees. Corruption and blackmarket kept up the economic life of the nation. But all the same it was heading for a crisis. Betrothal token which never exceeded Rs 12 now has jumped into hundreds and thousands. Local girls on public jobs is a step forward. But standards have fallen—standards in agricultural

production, in industrial production, in intellect, in administrative talent, even in understanding.

July convention of National Conference workers indicated rift between Bakhshi and Sadiq as well as Conference and Congress. Revival of National Conference itself is a problem for India now. Appealing to all opposition leaders to come under one flag and stating that Abdullah was still a live problem yet to be faced, Bakhshi sounded a note of rebellion under cover of pro-India slogan. Beneficiaries of Bakhshi are too many for a headache. Convention itself was lively enough and 'hal-wala janda' was hoisted with some enthusiasm.

Sopore convention of the National Congress following immediately clarified secularism which was guaranteed in India alone.

1,226 persons were detained from August 1964 to July 1966. This figure came down to 215 in August.

Dr Karan Singh who had submitted his resignation as Governor to take part in the political life of the country withdrew it in response to Centre's appeal until the next elections.

Yet one more interim allowance to Government employees drawing upto Rs 1,000 was announced. Rs 30 upto Rs 200, Rs 28 upto Rs 400 and Rs 20 upto Rs 1,000 inclusive of previous allowance. Salaries between Rs 400 and Rs 1,000 were included this time.

The number of employees in the State rose to 73, 200 while Fourth Five-Year Plan is yet to come into action.

The Jammu and Kashmir National Congress convention was held at Polo Ground from 6th to 8th September. Indira Gandhi and Kamraj could not participate due to bad weather. The Congress ideology refuses to appeal to the average Musalman who is seen here, there and everywhere to gain his personal ends. But a resolution was adopted reiterating State's accession to India.

The September flood after heavy rains would have been unprecedented but for flood measures adopted during the last 19 years. Loss to the crops was estimated to be about 12 to 15 per cent. The city was saved. There were other severe damages. Relief measures taken by the Government were quick and generous.

Politically September did not pass off well. The Islamia College incident which led to arrest of two professors and firing, and Sopore incident—one Hindu Head Constable was killed and one or two Hindu houses were looted—were a reminder. Subsequently infiltrators were caught, one was killed, one was Kashmiri and three were Pakistanis. Was this the end of the Chapter? According to Government—'yes'.

Guru Gobind Singh's relics were given an unexpected ovation in Srinagar on 21st. The relics were carried to other parts of the Valley and everywhere reception was reported to be good.

Sudden student outburst in Jammu which led to some deaths by police firing on 17th and 18th October was seriously watched in Kashmir but Srinagar was saved. Academic reasons aside, it was a 'political' gain. Those killed and injured were given adequate

compensation and an enquiry commission was appointed forthwith. Dusehra was not celebrated. Governor and Chief Minister took keen interest in student welfare. Trilochan Dutt's sons were mostly responsible for the student outburst. Trilochan Dutt resigned and his resignation was accepted but it brought no credit to Sadiq Ministry.

After abolition of Mujaawaza Co-operative Agency had come in (replacing traditional *waid-dars*) with loans to kisans against payment in kind. Sadiq Government announced further relief to zamindars that payment of loans need not be in kind.

Education budget for 1966-67 rose to Rs 5,19,88,000, University Rs 63,73,300, secondary Rs 1,92,06,900, primary Rs 96,03,200, technical Rs 21,86,300, general Rs 52,97,700, development schemes Rs 93,49,000.

In 1947, Kashmir did not aspire for Pakistan. In 1965 she positively did. During 18 years India failed to win over Kashmir. What are the reasons for this? The 'locals' mismanaged. The Indians stayed aloof from the common man. Had Indians infiltrated into the population and lived with the masses the image of India would have been exhibited.

Frankly speaking none wants fair settlement of the State. Both Pakistan and India do not want it—the dispute is helpful to them. Both Russia and America do not want it until a buffer state is created. And both 'Azad Kashmir' and the State do not want it.

'Kashmiri Subha' as was visualised in October, 1947 under the Indian Union, Abdullah in the agreeing mood, is a possible solution that may end the continuing uncertainty. Dr. Karan Singh supports the same view when he advocates 'Dogra Desh' to be linked up with Himachal Pradesh. But again 'Kashmiri Subha' is fraught with its own dangers.

Educational institutions reopened in Jammu on 14th November after a month's hartal following Government action on the interim report of the Enquiry Commission. D.I.G. of Police and Supdt. of Police were suspended and other officers transferred and thus major demands of the students were conceded.

The same day Kargil town was electrified.

Constituencies for six Parliamentary seats (1967 general elections) were declared—Ladakh, Baramulla, Srinagar, Anantnag, Jammu and Udhampur.

Grant of dearness allowance to industrial labour and admission of writ petition from rejected candidates of Medical College by the High Court was a fitting closure to 1966.

As the new year dawned in election tempo started going up. There were Pradesh National Congress, National Conference, Jan Sangh, Democratic National Conference, Praja Socialist Party and some Independents all arrayed against one another. Election procedure having been made more flawless it appealed to all combatants. 21st February was the polling day all over the State except Ladakh and Kargil. Out of a population of about 33.5 lakhs about seventeen

lakhs were registered as voters under adult suffrage. 21 members from the valley and 1 from Jammu out of 75 were returned unopposed to the Assembly and 2 out of 6 (Ladakh and Anantnag) to Parliament. There was only one woman contestant in Chhamb Jourian Constituency.

The polling in the State for 51 Assembly seats and 4 Parliamentary seats on 21st February passed off peacefully except at Sonamarg, Kangan and Poonch where polling was suspended due to heavy snow-fall. Polling in Ladakh and Kargil was held on 1st June.

The party position in the State Assembly stood at:

National Congress	...	59
National Conference	...	8
Jan Sangh	...	3
Independents	...	2

D.N.C. and P.S.P. were effaced in the elections. The only woman candidate in the contest also lost. Out of six Parliamentary seats one was captured by National Conference. Two Ministers of the out going Cabinet were defeated in straight fight. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad won both Assembly as well as Parliamentary seat.

An *ad hoc* increase in remuneration of various categories of employees became effective from November 1966 and was paid on February 1, 1967. The State Government also sanctioned an increase of 33 paise per working day in the wages of labour engaged by all Government departments with effect from November 1, 1966. This was the third increase sanctioned during the past three years. The Government could not keep the price line. Prices of some articles showed an increase of even 125 per cent since 1947 which is breaking the backbone of the common man.

From 20th February to March about 30 tremors rocked Anantnag district. Over 50 houses collapsed and hundreds were damaged. One person was killed and another seriously injured. Srinagar also experienced severe tremors during the period. This was an unusual phenomenon. Tents, rations and clothes were instantly provided.

The chain of recent earth tremors in Anantnag district was due to dislocation of rocks at considerable depths along a 30 mile weak Zone. There was no possibility of these tremors being of any volcanic origin, according to geologists who investigated into the cause.

Sadiq had started well. He removed all restrictions from press and platform but this was abused which compelled him to impose restrictions again. But the march of infiltrators into the valley from across the cease-fire remains unanswered to this day. Even the custodians of border defence were mum all along.

An Ordinance was issued by the State Governor amending the Jammu and Kashmir Representation of the Peoples' Act-1957 to bring

the State in line with the rest of India. By amending section 94 the Election Commission can appoint one or more retired High Court Judges as election tribunals.

'India's refusal to entertain any proposal to hold plebiscite in Kashmir was not based on constitutional, legal, political and human grounds. It was wrong to say that it was based on the fear that it might lose over plebiscite.

'India should avoid holding any debate with Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir.

'We should let Pakistan understand once and for all that so far as India is concerned, Kashmir presents no problem; Kashmir is a part of India and it will remain a part of India so long as India is able to maintain the integrity of her borders.

'A consideration of the future of Kashmir in relation to India had, at its core, the problem of the immediate, urgent needs of Kashmir which, if satisfied, make the future of Kashmir bright, prosperous and happy.

'The first need of Kashmir was a clean, efficient and purposeful administration. "When I am thinking of the future of Kashmir: I am thinking of the poor humble ignorant citizens of Kashmir, without reference to their religion, caste, creed or community. It is these dumb people whose future must be the primary concern of the administration of Kashmir. It is the dumb miseries of these people to which the administration must immediately respond."

'Next in importance of priorities, was the requirement that the political atmosphere of Kashmir must no longer be allowed to suffer from any ambivalence, uncertainty or doubt. "The debate as to what is to happen to Kashmir in future must be brought to an end. India's position in regard to the status of Kashmir as an inseparable part of India must never be the subject of debate inside the Indian territory.

'Let us open the doors of communication, as many as we can. Let progressive ideas travel from India to Pakistan and from Pakistan to India, ideas that give the message of tomorrow and that do not look back on the tragedies and quarrels of yesterday.

'Let Kashmir which is in the occupation of Pakistan compete with Kashmir which is with India in the pursuit of this noble ideal: Let there be more communication between the two parts of Kashmir.

'The "ceasefire line" which was dictated by the urgent need to establish peace between the two countries, broadly represented a proper line of demarcation of the two parts of Kashmir. The path of wisdom and foresight lies in recognising this as a permanent boundary between the two portions and bring to an end this agonising dispute about Kashmir.

'Moreover, the Security Council resolutions clearly and specifically indicated the sequence of steps which Pakistan and India were required to take. Pakistan's default and refusal to carry out its obligations under the resolutions was fatal to any claim for plebiscite.

'Reference to the people had been, for all practical purposes, fulfilled. Democracy was firmly established in the State and the wishes of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly which was freely elected, had been scrupulously respected by the Government of India.

'Any plea by Pakistan for holding a plebiscite was "wholly illegitimate and untenable".'

'Do international morality and ethics permit one country to attack another with the object of annexing a part of that other country, and failing to achieve that object claim that plebiscite should be held?

'Then there were points of constitutional law which had vital bearing on the decision and their effect could not be ignored. "India has given herself her constitution and so has Kashmir given herself a constitution. The effect of the two constitutions clearly is that no change can be made in the constitutional status of Kashmir as a part of India without the amendment of the constitutions themselves".'

'If the promise made by India was regarded as an international commitment, India was entitled to rely on the principle of "Rebus Sic Stantibus" in avoiding the performance of the promise.

'This doctrine, which was somewhat akin to the doctrine of frustrations in the law of contract, provides that a State is exonerated from its obligation under the international undertaking. If there was vital change in circumstances existing at the time the obligation had been undertaken.

'There have been such vital changes in the material circumstances since 1947 that it would be impossible to claim the performance of the undertaking now.

'The one fear which has deterred India to hold plebiscite was that whatever happens to the plebiscite, irrational, blind and wild forces of religious fanaticism and bigotry would be let loose and that is the one danger which India is passionately determined to avoid. It is of utmost importance to state clearly and unambiguously that India's reluctance to hold a plebiscite arises from the basic and fundamental fact that she generally fears that whatever the result of the plebiscite, her secularism will be exposed to the very grave risk of resurgent military chauvinism on the part of the majority community both in India and Pakistan.'

DR P. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR
Retired Chief Justice, Supreme Court of India.

Even this analysis from an eminent jurist is no key to the solution of the vexed problem which is so much confused due to passage of time, distortion of facts, sentimental approach and obstinacy on either side.

At a meeting of the Congress Legislature party (86 in number) held on 7th March, G. M. Sadiq was re-elected leader. The same day he tendered resignation of his cabinet to the Governor but he was asked to carry on till 24th.

The new cabinet sworn in consisted of:

G. M. Sadiq—Chief Minister
Girdhari Lal Dogra
D. P. Dhar
Gias-ud-Din
Mohd. Ayub Khan
Th. Ranjit Singh

Ministers of State:

S. Gurmukh Singh
Parmanand
Ghulam Rasool Kar
Noor Mohammad
Ch. Mohammad Shafi
Mohd. Din Bandey
Abdul Gani Goni

Announcement of Dr. Karan Singh as Minister for Tourism and Civil Aviation in the Central Government was a mid-March welcome news in the State. Wazir Janki Nath, Chief Justice Jammu and Kashmir High Court of Judicature, was sworn in as officiating Governor on 15th March. Dr. Karan Singh will neither draw his salary nor avail of official accommodation.

The new ministry has to face many a tough problem if it is to survive a period of five years that lie ahead. The problems are political, economic and also social.

Political—Leaving Jan Sangh alone which is more a problem of Jammu than of the State as a whole, the existence and continuation of the National Conference poses a serious problem for the National Congress as does Bakhshi for Sadiq. If politics is exploitation of a situation the Conference can take any turn any time for good or bad.

Economic—This is headed by food problem. There was a time when Kashmir exported rice. Now rice is imported, not only to feed urban population but a part of rural population as well. It is argued that population has increased. But this argument is rebutted by counter argument that production has also increased as well as area under cultivation. Doubts are created in people's minds that rice may be smuggled. If the Ministry is unable to tackle this simple problem it has no justification to function. In Kashmir rice has been, is and will continue to be the crux of the whole problem and on this revolves the prosperity of the country. The Kashmiri needs, on an average, one seer of rice per day. Given this without much ado he is both safe and sound. He rejects any kind of alternate food, even wheat if substituted. Side by side with this goes unemployment problem. Occupation must be found for thousands of labourers who leave their hearths and homes in winter and move to plains for four months in the year in search of employment. Money may come

in abundance, big buildings may go up, jeeps and cars may go round, standards of life may rise but root cause of Kashmir's poverty will not be wiped out if there is not abundant rice to eat and if there is not all year round employment available. Show cases never hide real faults. They only dupe for a time.

Social—With the spread of education at a high speed girls are flocking to offices side by side with boys. Inflation has also made marriage problem an acute one. Inter-caste, inter-communal and inter-state marriages which have just appeared on the surface are likely to become widespread with the passage of time. The very frame-work of society is thus on trial. It has got to be tackled.

Chief Minister laid the foundation stone of the first public school in Kashmir near Manasbal Lake, about 30 kilometres from here on 19/11.

Speaking on the occasion, Sadiq said that people criticised public schools for their association with the children of the well-to-do persons but in this school meritorious students of poor parents would be given free education.

He directed the officials concerned to see that the school started functioning in 12 months.

The school, to be built at a cost of about Rs 2 crores, will have hostels, a stadium, a gymnasium, an auditorium, an open air theatre, a swimming pool and play grounds.

Addressing a public meeting at Wakura, 10 kilometres from the school, the Chief Minister said that while India had made tremendous progress in various fields during the last 20 years, the people in Pakistan had not got even the voting right. India had abolished landlordism and was about to put a ceiling on urban property but in Pakistan landlords still ruled the roost.

He said that Sheikh Abdullah was right in telling the Constituent Assembly that Kashmir's prosperity lay with accession to India.

With the inauguration of Jawahar Lal Nehru Memorial Hospital on 14th November by the Chief Minister the Valley can boast of Jawahar Tunnel, Nehru Park, Jawahar Nagar and Nehru Memorial Hospital. The Hospital was so far run by Church Mission Society at Rainawari from whom the State Government acquired it against Rs 1½ lakhs. The Hospital is presently equipped with 75 beds.

The so-called 'Al Fatah' movement appears to be deep rooted. Out of 36 members arrested 5 top men escaped from Police grip by about the middle of February. It was not the Kashmir Police but the Indian Police who were counter shadowed. The miraculous escape from the Jail of their leader Mohd. Maqbool Bhat (who was under death sentence) a year earlier remains still a mystery with Police and Jail officers. The Government contradicted this later.

Aga Muzaffar's appointment as Ambassador to Trinidad was yet another upward step for the State. The year 1970 bagged three Ambassadors—a high record for any other State.

For the first time farm census was taken up in the state in 1971. There are about 7 lakh operational holdings. Information will be collected on the number and size of operational holdings, area under crops, land utilisation tenure and tenancy and irrigation.

A sugar factory with a production capacity of 20,000 tonnes per year based on sugar beet is in the offing. The State owned Jammu and Kashmir Industrial Corporation has already received letter of intent from Govt. of India. Hajin Block is earmarked for cultivation of sugar beet in 100 acres area and the sugar factory may be located in Manasbal. The area may go upto 40,000 acres.

Indira Gandhi's visit to the border areas in Jammu on 6-7 Sept.—Poonch, Rajouri, Kishtwar, Bhadarwah, Udhampur and her public speeches inspired greater confidence in the backward areas. Helicopter alone could make this tour possible. Central Ministers—Dr Karan Singh, Om Mehta and Shafi Qureshi accompanied the Prime Minister all along.

A mint on which fake gold sovereigns were manufactured was unearthed by Police on September 6. About 1973 fake gold sovereigns, 431 tolas of gold and 34 kg. gold ornaments were seized. Eleven leading goldsmiths were arrested in Police raid on 14 shops and houses. The total value of contraband metal amounted to about Rs 10.3 lakhs. The mint was installed in a double storeyed house at Mujagund about seven km. from the city. The fake sovereign was being sold at Rs 150-200. Another mint was found in the vicinity of Chashmashahi and the brain behind it was Ashraf Baba.

Contraband gold imported into the State in the shape of gold biscuits valued at about Rs 1,80,000 was seized on Sept. 21. 95 biscuits were concealed in cloth bundles each weighing 10 tolas. 15 such consignments were imported during one year. The total value of the gold seized in different shapes amounted to Rs 18 lakhs—ornaments 54,340 kgms. (Rs 10,86,980), fake sovereigns 2,200 (Rs 4,41,800), gold biscuits 77 (Rs 1,84,800). A safe which yielded imported dies and 236 sovereigns was also recovered from the house of an accused.

Charas (hashish) was another racket which created 'capitalist class' who dominated society during the last 24 years.

The State Legislation ratified the Constitution (24th Amendment) Bill 1971 empowering Parliament to amend the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution.

The Supreme Court was also empowered to hear criminal appeals against the State High Court.

The Legislature put a ceiling on urban property Rs 5 lakhs upto a family unit of 5 members, Rs 50,000 for extra member upto a maximum limit of Rs 7½ lakhs.

The State Legislature stole a march over other legislatures for prescribing a label on sale of cigarettes showing harmful effect of smoking.

Jammu Silk Factory alone sold 1,700 kgs of silk yarn worth Rs 3.60 lakhs and 3,510 kgs of silk waste for Rs 1 lakh. The Srinagar factory sold 634 kgs for Rs 1,04,000 after reduction in price. This indicates that the industry is moving on.

1971 Cholera in Kashmir bagged 3,540 cases out of which 149 succumbed. 18 lakh people were inoculated with the help of jet injections.

Recently a sacred hair of Hazrat Imam Hussain was installed at Zadibal Imambara by the President of Shia Association. Its authenticity was challenged by the Aga Sahib of Budgam. This resulted in a clash between two sections on 26th September. Lathis, sharp edged weapons and stones were used. One person was killed and several others injured. Were hairs of prophets preserved at all?

For the last few years the valley has been flooded by Hippies and Beatles. They come from America and Europe. They move about in Indian dresses, often pose as Sadhus (monks). Some beg and borrow. Others spend their own money. They are apparently under frustration. Men and women in the age group of 20-50 from different countries mix up in boats and shrines and pose a serious problem.

The high altitude research Laboratory at Gulmarg is equipped with a sensitive instrument called microbarograph which can detect stock waves from nuclear blasts occurring within a distance of a few thousand kilometers. The laboratory is also equipped with a cosmic ray mention monitor which detects more than a 1/4 million counts an hour. Radio waves are also studied as also age of waters and night airglow.

Sayed Mir Qasim and Peer Mohd Yahya Siddiqi were sworn in as Minister and Dy. Minister on 4th Oct. Siddiqi was a member of the National Conference group in the Assembly and defection gave him this price. Qasim had resigned from membership of the State Assembly in 1969. The Congress was divided into two warring factions led by Sadiq and Qasim. The difference erupted in the open when 31 supporters of Qasim in the Assembly left en block for Delhi in 1970 asking for change in the leadership. Qasim had gone so far as to say that he gave up politics for good.

One mosque, 22 houses and Kothars were gutted in a fire in a village in Bandipore Tehsil on 12th October. This was the second fire in the district within three days resulting in about Rs 60,000 loss. Five fires broke out in the valley during the last 5 days including one at Baramulla on Monday in which 5 persons were burnt to death. 40 houses and grain stores were gutted on 14th October at Delina village besides killing two persons.

Indira Gandhi's (Prime Minister of India) untimely visit to Ladakh, Jammu and Srinagar from 21st to 23rd December was guessed to be very meaningful. Mere bringing together different factions could not be the main purpose. Partition of the State into three parts is a foregone conclusion. At a public address at Tourist Reception

Centre Mrs. Gandhi hinted that it would not be allowed if some people thought they would fight elections under the Constitution and yet defy the same in the Legislature. The territorial integrity of the State cannot be questioned. Police, C.R.P. and C.I.D. were in full display during her visit. Flags distributed free to the people were not seen in display.

Immediate was the reaction from Abdullah that he was one of the Constitution makers, not Mrs. Gandhi, and he knew what Constitution was. With the year 1970 coming to close Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was admitted to Ruling Congress Parliamentary party which was indicative that the National Conference would merge into State Congress. Sadiq in the heart of hearts could not compromise this position. Hot running of Bakhshi to join the Congress was apparent for the last two or three years.

Four youths appearing in the garb of Police Officials robbed Hazratbal Branch of Jammu and Kashmir Bank of about Rs 1 lakh on 2nd January 1971. The Branch Manager and the Cashier were put into a Taxi alongwith the cash who were dropped on the way. This was perhaps the first glaring dacoity committed in the 'Bed of Lotuses.'

Lottery ticket holders were looking to the sky on hearing that entire Lottery Section of Government Press was gutted on January 3, 1971 because the fire endangered their prizes. January 9 dawned with police force scattered at strategic points in the city. The news came that Abdullah, Beg and Shah were externed for a period of three months. This action was taken just on the eve of Lok-Sabha midterm Poll in Feb-March to deprive the Plebiscite Front from participating in the Election on the ground that the Front was coming forward after two decades to wreck the Constitution. The whole night arrests were made. About 500 persons were taken into custody. The Valley was under stir. Four days later Plebiscite Front as an organisation was banned throughout the State.

The Valley had its first snow fall of the season on 19/20 January. Nominal though in volume the temperature was up by about 5 degrees. 3rd week of January brought police into lime light again when they claimed to have smashed a sabotage ring (Al-Fatah), arrested about 22 persons and arms and military records. The students Federation was a link between Al-Fatah and Plebiscite Front. Rs 90,000 were also recovered leaving still Rs 8,000 unrecovered out of a total of one lac (J & K Bank Dacoity and Rs 71,000 Pulwama Dacoity 1970.) The main target of the ring was some minister and all-round disorder. The headquarter of the ring was Barsoo village, 13 miles from Srinagar on J & K Highway.

Sayed Mir Qasim's acceptance of Presidentship of Pradesh Congress Committee which he had given up was not a welcome move. Such leaders change colour like chameleons. Stature of a real leader is too high which cannot be reached by every one.

1971 prices reached a peak.

1. Potatoes 1.00/kilo
2. Eggs 0.40 each
3. Cabbage 0.75/kilo
4. Edible oil Rs 7/kilo

This serves as an index of rise in other commodities as well.

During the last two decades Government arranged 'Bharat Darshan' free of cost to batches of farmers, musicians, poets, writers, industrialists, artisans and what not. Yet India failed to win soul of Kashmir.

An Indian Air Lines Foker Friendship aircraft with 28 passengers and a crew of four on board bound for Jammu was skyjacked to Lahore on 30th January. Skyjackers were identified as members of Al-Fatah and belonged to Border Security Force. The passengers and crew were brought by road to India on 1st Feb. The aircraft with cargo and mail was blown off on 2nd Feb. The two skyjackers demanded release of 36 members of Al-Fatah as ransom. They were given political asylum by Pakistan.

While the State Government maintained that Qureshi was an A.S.I. in Border Security Force the Central Government denied this plea. Ashraf was related to Qureshi. There was uproar in India over the burning of the aircraft under the very nose of Martial Law. Bank robbery, skyjacking and burning of the aircraft on foreign soil demonstrated alternative leadership ready to take over the field. Such a political hit could not be imagined a year before and these hits will be coming on until Indo-Pak dispute over Kashmir is settled. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad who got Lok Sabha ticket from State Congress under Centre's directive won his war against Ayyangar Commission and Sadiq administration. Bakhshi defected from Desai and came over to Jagjivan.

During the middle of February Trilochan Dutt was included as member of the Cabinet and Bashir Ahmad as Dy. Minister. Sadiq had declared before that Dutt was a non-State Subject.

The State also went through mid-term Poll for parliament in March. Out of six Parliamentary Constituencies there was keen contest in Udhampur and Srinagar Constituencies in Udhampur between Dr Karan Singh and Th. Baldev Singh and in Srinagar between Shamim and Bakhshi. Udhampur, Srinagar and Baramulla went to poll on 4th March while Jammu and Anantnag on 6th and 7th March. Poll in Ladakh was deferred to June due to cold. Srinagar Constituency alone had 3,93,939 voters and 588 polling booths. Polling on the whole was peaceful. The only grave defect noticeable was that 1967 electoral rolls were not revised and checked up. Begum Abdullah, Mohd. Sayeed and Mohi-ud-Din Kara actively fought for Shamim. While Bakhshi represented New Congress, Shamim though independent represented Plebiscite Front. Out of five seats Congress won four and one seat went to Independent. Bakhshi's failure was a hit to Congress and Shamim's success was a triumph for Abdullah.

Budget for 1971-72—Revenue Rs 96 crores 23 lakhs. Expenditure Rs 96 crores 73 lakhs. Deficit Rs 50 lakhs to be recouped from taxes on luxuries.

The entire border with East Pakistan became sensitive in October when both India and Pakistan moved their army. The East Bengal situation was responsible for creating tension. The first black-out exercise was made in the city on 28th between 9 and 11 p.m. Intrusions into air space became a common feature.

The long spell of drought was broken on 1st November when there came the season's first but nominal snowfall in the valley. This time it was welcomed.

The Head Post Office in Srinagar was gutted on 10th night. Another fire in the Munshibagh area near the Headquarters of the United Nations observers gutted six shops. The fires broke out following electricity break down. The Post Office loss was estimated between 4 and 6 lakhs. Sabotage could not be ruled out.

A big fire broke out at Khanpora (Baramulla) on 19th November gutting about 50 houses and causing a loss of about Rs 25 lakhs. The autumn toll of fires in the Valley is usual.

The Army set an unique example by presenting on Id day an impressive mosque alongwith a copy of Quran to Muslims of Andergaon village near Baramulla burnt in September. The army constructed the mosque with the unit's funds and voluntary contributions. About 40 skilled and non-skilled army personnel finished the job in a month.

Lok Sabha acclaimed voluntary surrender of all princely privileges by Dr Karan Singh when the Constitution Amendment Bill (26th) stopping privileges and allowances to princes was under discussion on 2nd December.

Since East Bengal upheaval in March last there have been many air space violations into the State by Pakistan as well as firings in Rajouri, Kargil, Chhamb and Uri Sectors. Defensive steps taken by India were also effective. Without formal war, war hysteria was there on the entire border.

Near about evening on 3rd December the Pakistani Planes attacked Airfields at Ambala, Amritsar, Pathankot, Srinagar, Avantipora. The attack continued during night also. Later President of India declared emergency throughout India. It was the biggest aerial raid in the State. One enemy plane was knocked down in Srinagar on 5th December. The Indian army moved forward in Uri and Titwal Sectors in Kashmir and offered tough fight in Chhamb, Jourian Sector in Jammu. In Poonch Sector the enemy thrust was stronger.

The Security Council could not take formal notice of the situation in South East Asia. China and America backed up Pakistan while Russia supported India. Britain and France remained lukewarm. The debate continued on till at last the question was referred to the general Assembly of U.N.O. which passed a resolution by 104 votes against 11 asking India and Pakistan for cease-fire.

Recognition of Bangla Desh (East Bengal) by India on 6th December was acclaimed in the State also.

Withdrawal from Chhamb Sector in Jammu on 7th December was a great hit. It indicated that Pakistan was determined to fight to finish in West Pakistan. Closure of Gilgit-China road to foreigners was very significant at such an hour of crises.

India did not accept cease-fire as Bangla Desh was left out as a party.

On 8th and 9th there was again air raid in Amritsar and Srinagar. In spite of sirens and black-outs life went on as normal. Prices of essential commodities did go up but this was checked by regular supply from depots. In fact air raids were a common feature and Awantipora and Srinagar aerodromes were main targets.

G. M. Sadiq died in a hospital at Chandigarh on 12th December. He was ailing for some time past. He was 59.

There is no doubt that he was associated with the political aspirations of the country since early thirties but luck favoured him more than sacrifice. Left to himself he could hardly fetch a few votes in any election. He was an astute politician who parted company with his colleagues—Sheikh, Bakhshi, Dhar, Qasim, Dutt and so on and yet won success after success. The rapid growth of education in the State is due to him though he was the author of 30: 70 seats in educational institutions. He had neither the initiative of Sheikh nor the rashness of Bakhshi. The scheme to extend the limits of the city and to distribute plots remained in cold storage as well as clearance of city slums. If the country as a whole did not rise up his clan did.

Sadiq was succeeded by Sayed Mir Qasim. Qasim hails from Duru Shahbad. In 1972 elections he was returned unopposed to the Assembly. Qasim is a law graduate of Aligarh University where he played a dubious role. He started his official career as Personal Assistant to Revenue Minister in 1948.

Six Pakistani Planes came to attack Srinagar Aerodrome on 14th Dec. In this air battle that ensued one Indian Gnat and two Pakistani jets were knocked down. The Indian pressure advanced in Poonch, Uri, Titwal sectors but there was a lull in Chhamb Sector. Over 30 posts were captured in Kargil Sector. The manpower loss on either side exceeded 1965 conflict.

After Pakistan surrendered in East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) on 16th Dec. India offered unilateral ceasefire from 8 p.m. On 17th Dec. in West Pakistan which Pakistan accepted and consequently lull followed on all fronts in the State.

Pakistan was stuck up in the political storm. Gen. Yahya Kahn, a usurper himself, nominated Z. A. Bhutto as President and Martial Law Administrator on 20th Dec. This worsened the situation.

During the 14-day Indo-Pak war Pakistan Air Force carried out over 50 sorties over Srinagar and Jammu Airfields without causing any significant damage.

Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, during her visit to Srinagar on 29th December said at a public meeting that Bangla Desh was born out of chaos and would stay on. Four youngsters who had planned demonstration were timely apprehended and taken into custody.

Two constables—Yusuf and Azia received President's Police medal for gallantry for foiling a bid by Saboteurs to ransack Islamia College strong room of rifles on July 25.

In 1971 Indo-Pak War 160 bombs of 500 lbs each were dropped on the Srinagar Airfield area killing 5 persons—3 Muslims, 1 Hindu and 1 Sikh. I.A.F. gave relief as under:

Rs 150 p.m. to each family, Rs 55 as burial and cremation expenses, Rs 381 as three month's pay of the deceased.

It may be stated that while in 1965 conflict Pakistan seized Chhamb India had seized Hajipir but in 1971 conflict while Pakistan seized part of Chhamb area India seized about three dozen posts in Kargil area.

Formal merger of National Conference into National Congress by mid-January with bleak prospect for Bakhshi became a reality.

There was a regular snow fall on 30th Jan., 1972 (Sunday—full moon day—Lunar eclipse—last day of Chila Kalan). It was otherwise sunny and dry weather covering whole of November, December and January.

February 2 was in the news. Begum Abdullah was served with six month externment order at Delhi. About 25 members of the Political Conference and out-lawed Plebiscite front including Kara and Masoodi were arrested. The election field was thus cleared of any possible obstruction. The mandate given by the local Congress to a local medical practitioner—an approver in Indore conspiracy case during the Congress struggle when he was as a student there—gave currency to many a whisper.

Another healthy feature of 1972 election was that two ladies stood as candidates, one on Congress ticket and another as independent from Ward No: I and II in Srinagar. Besides one woman was returned unopposed from Banihal constituency of Jammu Province.

12th February snowfall in Kashmir was the heaviest since 1969.

One of the interesting features of the 1972 election was the number of candidates for the Assembly—366 against 184 in 1967 election—42 from Jamat-i-Islami and 197 Independents. The Congress put up 74 candidates against 75. The out-lawed Plebiscite Front supported some independent and Jamat-i-Islami candidates.

A violent crowd of Awami Action Committee supporters ransacked the Neawhatta Police Station soon after the Friday prayers on March 3. The records and the furniture of the Station were brought out and destroyed in a bonfire. A van of the Fire Brigade was also set on fire. Police teargassed the mob. About 72 policemen were injured in the stone throwing.

One poll casualty was reported from Maisuma-Basant Bagh. Poll was completed in Baramulla District on 10th Feb. and in Srinagar and Anantnag Districts on 11th Feb. The election results were:

(a) Congress	57
(b) Independents	9
(c) Jamat-i-Islami	5
(d) Jan Sang	3

Total 74 — Muslims 51, Hindus 21, Sikhs 2.

Election of Ladakh seat later

While Abdullah remained neutral, Farooq gave mandate to 11 candidates, out of whom four won. The special feature of the election was that there were five unopposed returns, that three women candidates won, that two Ministers lost, that Jammu and Valley Congress get equal number of seats—28, and that out of seven Srinagar seats Congress won only one. Pahalgam and Gulmarg health resorts also Muslim Constituencies—returned Hindu and Sikh Candidates. The following members were sworn in as Ministers.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Syed Mir Qasim | Chief Minister |
| 2. Girdhari Lal Dogra | |
| 3. Trilochan Dutt | |
| 4. A. G. Lone | |
| 5. Mufti Mohammad Syed. | |

As April set in about 164 political detenus including Kara, Mosoodi and Sufi were set free. Ban on the entry of Begum Abdullah was also lifted. The remaining 104 detenus were either connected with Al fatah or were trespassers from foreign country.

The emergence of independent Bangla Desh brought about a change in the political outlook of Beg, Kara, Farooq and other leaders. Autonomy within Indian union would set at rest all 'irritations'. Abdullah was not worried about accession but about the quantum of autonomy. 1953 autonomy and 1972 autonomy could not be identical.

Matriculation candidates in most centres came out of examination halls on 11th April protesting against stiff English question paper. Processions followed and Srinagar office of the Board of Secondary Education was burnt. The student conduct is becoming a tough problem.

Jammu and Kashmir at a glance

The Jammu and Kashmir State is one of the most beautiful and attractive tourist places of India. The number of tourists visiting the state has considerably increased. In 1947 only 15,000 visitors visited

the State while the number in 1970 ending May rose to 1,44,000 approximately.

As a result of the introduction of improved agricultural practices the food production has gone up from 85.78 lakh quintals in 1968-69 to 92.27 lakh quintals in 1969-70.

The forests of Jammu and Kashmir cover more than 8,139 sq. miles. Of this 2,885 sq. miles are available for valuable timber. The revenue from forests has increased to Rs 4.34 crores in 1968-69.

The State has made a mark in respect of fruit production. While the fruit productions (fresh and dry) stood at 75,000 tonnes in 1967-68 the production stood at 96,000 tonnes in 1968-69. The value of fruits has thus increased to Rs 10 crores in 1968-69 against Rs 8 crores in the previous year.

The State has now achieved good progress in the sphere of roads. At present the road length of all categories stands approximately at about 5,000 miles.

The Government transport fleet consists of 1,122 vehicles against only 255 vehicles in 1948.

There are at present 876 doctors in the State against only 123 in 1947. The life expectancy has increased from 38 years in 1947 to 50 years at present.

The development of power potential has received due emphasis in the plan schemes. The installed capacity has risen from 21 MWS in 1963-64 to 40 MWS in 1968-69. The number of villages electrified has risen from 293 in 1963-64 to 709 in 1968-69.

Jammu and Kashmir is perhaps one of the few States in the country where education is free from the kindergarten class to the post-graduate standard. About 87.30 per cent of boys and 32.76 per cent of girls in the age group of 6-11 are at present in schools.

There has been an impressive increase in so far as *per capita* income is concerned. At 1955-56 price level it has risen from Rs 188 in the year 1950-51 to over Rs 299 at present.

The total Plan provision for the first three Plans was Rs 125.51 crores. The expenditure on the annual Plans for the years 1966-69 came to Rs 60.07 crores. The provision for the 4th Plan has been fixed at Rs 158.40 crores.

There has been brisk activity in various fields of development in the recent years. The revenues of the State have in consequence increased from Rs 2.75 crores in 1947 to Rs 55.50 crores in 1968-69.

The 80 km. long 132 KV transmission line between Kalakott and Jammu with a capacity to transmit 22,500 MWS of power has been completed and commissioned at a cost of Rs 140 lakhs. Work on the 132 KV link between Jammu and Srinagar estimated to cost Rs 2 crores has also been taken up.

Work on the Lower Jhelum Hydel Project has already been taken in hand. The project will have an installed capacity of 64 MWS

with a firm capacity of 46 MWS. The project involves a total cost of Rs 17.44 crores. Its first phase is expected at the end of the 4th plan and the second phase by 1976.

The Upper Sindh Hydel Project (Phase I) with an installed capacity of 22.5 MWS of power will cost Rs 8.5 crores and is expected to be completed by 1971-72.

The pride of place, however, will go to 55 crore Salal Hydel Project in the Jammu region which will be taken up as a Central Project in the 4th Plan. The project is estimated to generate 47 MWS of power.

The State's Health Programme has entered a new phase of development:—

Expenditure on health has increased from 18.94 lakhs in 1947 to Rs 4 crores at present.

Per head expenditure on health has recorded twenty-fold increase. As against an expenditure of 47 paise in 1947 it is Rs 9.30 per head now.

There are 20 hospitals in the State. These do not include four aided and two non-aided private hospitals. Besides, there are 57 primary health centres, 18 primary health units, 173 allopathic dispensaries, 363 ayurvedic and unani dispensaries, 4 mobile units, 11 V.D. clinics, 10 TB clinics, 15 leprosy S.E.T. centres, 4 trachoma units, 2 leprosy control units, leprosy-cum-treatment unit and two school health units.

Total bed strength in hospitals and dispensaries has been raised from 600 in 1947 to 3956. In the district hospitals the bed strength is being further raised to achieve the target of 100 beds in each.

There are two Chest Diseases Hospitals, one each at Srinagar and Jammu with a bed strength of 350 and 259 respectively. In addition 10 T.B. clinics are functioning at present.

To immunize school going children against various diseases a School Health Scheme has been launched. Two medical units headed by a Medical Officer have been set up in two principal cities of Jammu and Srinagar to execute the scheme.

A net work of Family Planning Centres has been laid throughout the State. There are 62 family planning rural centres, 51 family planning sub-centres, 2 urban family planning centres in two main hospitals of Jammu and Srinagar, 8 family planning bureaux in 8 districts of the State. Besides there is one family planning reverine unit mainly designed to render family planning service to the boat population of the Valley.

In their extent, distribution and potential the forests of J & K constitute the biggest industry in the state so they are the mainstay of the economy of the state.

The coniferous species cover an area of 2,886 sq-miles and the broad leaved species 394 sq-miles. The maximum possible annual cut is 295.00 lakh cft for coniferous forests.

1. Forestry schemes	325 lacs	
(a) Fuel wood plantation	Rs 17.33 lacs	22,410 acres
(b) Economic plantation	„ 0.23 „	1,507 „
2. Working plan organisation	„ 7.40 „	2,992 sq. mile
3. Rehabilitation of degraded forests		1,764 acres
4. Soil conservation schemes	250 lacs.	

Although in the industrial field, the State has suffered due to its age-old backwardness, its land-locked geography and poor communications, special efforts have been made to expand this sector. During the last two years 90 small industrial units were established. In the public sector industries which cover a wide range, namely, sericulture, silk manufacturing, woollens, leather, handicrafts, joineries etc., the production rose from Rs 196 lakhs in 1964-65 to Rs 296 lakhs in 1969-70. The value of output of factories arose from Rs 4.20 crores in 1964-65 to 11.68 crores at the end of 1968.

Several new industrial units are conceived in the public sector as well as in the private sector. Among them the most important are three Central Government Projects, namely:

(i) a unit of Indian Telephone Industries (an ancillary unit of this commenced production since the beginning of the current year),

(ii) a Watch Factory by Hindustan Machine Tools (with an investment of Rs 6 crores) and

(iii) a Superior Grade Rayon Pulp Manufacturing Project in Kashmir,

(iv) In the private sector the establishment of a Paper Pulp and Staple Fibre Project near Jammu is under consideration, as also,

(v) a unit for manufacture of beer and

(vi) a factory for production of Television Receiving Sets.

A Department is working on the geological investigation and exploitation of various minerals which abound in the State. The oil and Natural Gas Commission of the Government of India have started boring for oil in the Surinsar area, near Jammu.

In the field of agriculture, the State had a fair share of the green revolution. In the Plan period up to end of 1968-69 about 1,11,000 acres of additional land had been brought under irrigation. The production of foodgrains steadily increased by increasing use of fertilizer and high yielding seeds. The addition in foodgrains in 1969-70 was 909 lakh quintals.

The area under horticulture expanded from 56,000 acres in 1964-65 to 1,00,000 acres in 1969-70.

An account of battle of Srinagar 1947

The headquarters had moved into the Forest Department bungalow near the airfield on the afternoon of October 31 two days before Gen. Sen arrived to take charge of the brigade.

Gen. Harbaksh Singh described the battle that saved Srinagar: The Pakistani raiders, after bypassing the first Sikh Battalion at Pattan, concentrated themselves in the Budgam area with a view to securing the airfield, if possible, and certainly to enter Srinagar city along the Budgam Srinagar route. We did not clearly know where the main concentration of the raiders was. We struck them really by chance.

When reports after the battle of Ilgam on October 31 indicated that their base was at Budgam village, a strong fighting patrol, about three companies, was sent to surround the village on November 3 by which date Brig. Sen had come over to Srinagar and taken over command of the 161 Infantry Brigade. The patrol was deceived in the beginning and reported no enemy in the area, but was heavily attacked by the enemy in the afternoon. One company was overrun and its commander, Major Sharma, killed. Then the first Sikh Battalion was pulled back from Pattan for defence of Srinagar and took up position along the banks of the spill canal at Shaila town by 8 a.m. on November 4. Detachments were also sent to guard other approaches to the city.

The enemy reacted to the move and shifted their emphasis to the main road. They established contact with the Sikh Battalion and tried to brush them aside on the nights of November 5 and 6. The Sikh Battalion beat them back.

On the morning of November 7 a strategy to attack the raiders was finalised. I, as deputy brigade commander, volunteered to go to the scene of the battle and Brig. Sen stayed at his headquarters near the airfield throughout the day to assist in whatever manner he could.

With aircraft of the Indian Air Force giving valuable assistance, the first command, located in the Race Course area, attacked the raiders on their right flank. The raiders, thinking they would be cut off, started thinning out from the opposite bank of the spill canal and became a clear target to the Sikh Battalion's rifles and light automatic machineguns. They ran helter-skelter in the ploughed field, many of them trying to take shelter behind the hay stacks.

Spotting them, our aircraft strafed them with incendiaries, causing fire to every hay stack. While the enemy tribesmen were fleeing a company was sent to the Magam junction of the Srinagar-Baramulla road to cut off their exit route. This worked wonderfully, the enemy was completely baffled and scattered in all directions.

At the end of the battle the booty was nearly 300 bodies of the enemy and a large amount of ammunition, rifles and other types of equipment, including a field ambulance, a detachment of mortars as well as a couple of medium machine-guns.

The way was clear for us to make for Baramulla and on to Uri. At this stage Gen. Kulwant Singh, who was the Jammu and Kashmir Forces Commander, arrived on the battle scene and patted me on my back and congratulated the troops. I made a request that I might be allowed to carry on with the forces on to Baramulla and Uri but he said 'no'. He had already ordered Brig. Sen to move his headquarters forward and lead the advance of his brigade from there.

Retired Lt. Gen. Harbaksh Singh maintained that the facts related by him concerning the 1947 army operation in Kashmir would be borne out by the official record of the campaign 'Nowhere in the ten-page description of the battle of Shalateng is there a mention by the author of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad being present and his accompanying Sen to Pattan and Baramulla.

'Rather he does say that it was only after a wireless message had been flashed to Srinagar after the capture of Baramulla that Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad came to Baramulla within an hour.

'When Gen. Sen arrived to take over the situation from me on the evening of November 7 Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was not with him.

'The brigade headquarters moved into the forest bungalow only after permission was sought from him by Brig. Sen on November 2, I should like to remind Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad of his visit to the brigade headquarters in this very bungalow during the night of November 1 and 2, before Brig. Sen arrived in Srinagar to take over the brigade, in the company of Gen. (then Lt.-Col) K.C. Katoch. . '

The 161 Infantry Brigade was commanded by Brigadier L. P. Sen during the battle of Shalateng and that the historic facts related by him in his book 'Slender was the Thread' are correct.

'On the morning of the battle, no sooner was it known that the raiders had advanced and reached a point barely four miles from Srinagar than I rushed to the area. I located Brigadier Sen who had established his headquarters in a culvert near Milestone 4 under a chinar tree. With him was another officer, Major Rikhye, who was later to be Major General Rikhye.

'They were planning the action to be taken to meet the threat.

'In due course, Brigadier Sen launched the attack and when the raiders broke and fled, I accompanied Brigadier Sen to Pattan and on to Baramulla, which was captured the next morning. Further, I recall that Major Kak, who was attached to Brigadier Sen as liaison officer between the Government of Kashmir and the 161 Infantry Brigade approached me on the afternoon of November 2 with a request from Brigadier Sen that a forest bungalow located a few miles from the aerodrome and towards Srinagar be loaned to him as his headquarters building. To this I readily agreed and the Brigade made it its headquarters. On the day Sardar Patel and Sardar Baldev Singh came to the Valley to assess the situation after the battle of Budgam'.

Since 1947 the Defence of Kashmir was entrusted to the following Generals who guarded the border with exemplary skill:

1. Lt. General Kulwant Singh.
2. „ „ K. S. Thimayya.
3. „ „ Mahadev Singh.
4. „ „ Jai Singh.
5. „ „ Henderson Brooks.
6. „ „ Umrao Singh.
7. „ „ S. C. Misra.
8. „ „ A. S. Pathania.
9. „ „ Bikram Singh.
10. „ „ K. S. Katoch.
11. „ „ K. P. Candeth.
12. „ „ Sartaj Singh

Non-Muslims continue to feel that secularism would not be complete without them while Muslims feel that accession is mainly their affair. Political consciousness has been awakened to such a degree that every one thinks that the trump card is in his pocket which he can exploit to any length. The modern art of propaganda and publicity has affected history badly. History which ought to be factual may not bring to light facts at all and posterity will vainly hunt for them. They will inherit intellectual starvation only.

The two stands of India and Pakistan *vis-à-vis* Kashmir are like two parallel lines which do not seem to meet anywhere. Twenty five years have passed and bitterness has grown. To avoid armed conflict which is likely to hit both better counsels should bring them close to each other for an amicable settlement in a spirit of give and take. If this does not happen future is not bright, situation being explosive which can flare up any moment as it did in 1965 and 1971. The blood bath of 1947 will only be avoided if the present *status quo* is internationally recognized with a little give and take on either side, no matter who loses or who gains morally. Yet another threat from northern side has recently posed for the state. Double threat to Kashmir will further promote vicious circles. The possibility of merger of Jammu Province with Himachal and the Valley being taken over by the Centre as also State Subjects' Definition being scrapped for good in the near future may not be altogether ruled out.

BROAD ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE 1947

- (1) Military serve for Kashmiris.
- (2) Fight against mass illiteracy.
- (3) Land reform—abolition of Jagirdari and Zamindari.
- (4) Burial of Amritsar Treaty.
- (5) Banihal Tunnel.
- (6) Universities of Jammu and Kashmir
- (7) State's Constitution.

- (8) Termination of hereditary rule.
- (9) Medical, Agriculture, Ayurvedic and Engineering Colleges.
- (10) Road to Ladakh via Sonamarg.
- (11) Industrial Estates.
- (12) Stadium and Tagore Hall.
- (13) Pottery Works, Tiles and Plywood factories.
- (14) Mineral Products Corporation.
- (15) Power House at Ganderbal and Chinani.
- (16) Textile Mill at Kathua.
- (17) Cement factory.
- (18) Supply of tap water and electric light to rural areas.
- (19) Creation of Transport Fleet.
- (20) Rail link between Kathua and Pathankot and Pathankot and Jammu
- (21) Oil and gas extraction near Sanasar
- (22) Salal Electric Project to generate over four lakhs of Kwts.
- (23) Television Station in Srinagar
- (24) Radio Stations in Jammu, Srinagar and Ladakh.
- (25) Matric and even non-matric becoming I.A.S.—not to mention cooks and drivers becoming high police officers etc.

KASHMIR PAST AND PRESENT

Francois Bernier who travelled from Lahore in 1665 A.D. with the royal cavalcade of Aurangzeb writes—'My horses are exhausted, they have not seen a blade of grass since we quitted Lahore. My Indians, notwithstanding their black, dry and hard skin, are incapable of further exertion. The whole of my face, my feet and my hands are flayed. My body too is entirely covered with small red blisters which prick like needles. All my hopes are in four or five limes still remaining for lemonade and in a little dry curd which I am about to drink diluted with water and sugar. The ink dries at the end of my pen and the pen itself drops from my hand. (Porters assembled to carry the royal luggage across the Banihal range stood at 30,000 men).'

Today travellers can land in the valley in less than two hours' air journey from Delhi or a mere 40 minutes hop from Pathankot which is linked up with Srinagar by 12 hours surface route.

1910—1960

Funerals which were universally mourned as witnessed by the author:

- (1) Pratap Singh—He was the third ruler in the line of Dogras. He was loved.
- (2) Narendranath Kaul—He was Revenue Minister in Pratap Singh's time. He brought down food prices.
- (3) Dr A. Mitra—He was Home Minister in Pratap Singh's time. He promoted education and patronised local talent.
- (4) Mir Waiz Maulvi Rasool Shah—He was the religious head of Muslims of Kashmir.

Notables of Kashmir

- (1) Kangri (moving stove).
- (2) Samawar (boiling tea kettle).
- (3) Pulharo and Khrav (grass and wooden shoes).
- (4) Goshtaba (meat dish).
- (5) Floating land (orchard on water).
- (6) Pheron (garment).
- (7) Soofiana and Chhakri (music).

These are products of indigenous culture. Wherefrom these have been borrowed and later developed is a subject of research.

Leaders of Freedom Movement Since 1921

Said-ud-Din Shawl.
 Noor Shah Naqashband.
 Mirwaiz Usuf Shah.
 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.
 Gwasha Lal Kaul
 Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad.
 Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq.
 Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg.
 Maulvi Mohammad Sayed.
 Sardar Budh Singh.
 Shyam Lal Saraf (minus following)
 Ghulam Abbas.

Writers and Journalists of early Twenties who contributed to the psychological awakening of the intelligentsia

Mohammad-ud-Din Foq	H
Jai Lal Kilam	P
Gwasha Lal Kaul	P
Prem Nath Bazaz	P
Anand Kaul Bamzai	L
Jai Lal Kaul Jalali	P
Shankar Lal Kaul	P
Prof. Jia Lal Kaul	L
Samsar Chand Kaul	N

(H-Historian, P-Politician, L-Literalist, N-Naturalist).

Author's Personal Reminiscences (shared by none else)

Royal Commission has been announced. I am the Prime Minister.
 I have not been consulted at all.

—SIR MAHARAJ SINGH

Maharaja has grown tired of me so much so that he even avoids me now.

—SIR K. N. HAKSAR

There is no movement for propagation of Hindi which Government could patronise.

—SIR GOPALASWAMY AYYANGAR

Rift between Abdullah and Yusuf Shah may save the Maharaja

—HARI KRISHNA KAUL

Tragedies like Wolur or Kanikot give a further lease of life to the Yuvak Sabha.

—JIA LAL KILAM

My ambition of life is to become a Minister whether by backdoor or by frontdoor.

—S. N. FOTEDAR

Kashmir may cause some headache.

—SIR B. N. RAO

Nothing short of full responsible government under the aegis of Maharaja—before 1947; Limited Accession —1953.

—S. M. ABDULLAH

If India is divided Kashmir could remain independent as before.

—R. C. KAK

No time should be wasted to move out as the invader is knocking at our door.

—M. C. MAHAJAN

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah became a wedge in Muslim politics.

—YUSUF SHAH

Muslims of the State need pulling up.

—G. E. C. WAKEFIELD.

Our Dogra army will fight unto the last.

—JANAK SINGH

Hindu Raj should not go the way it has gone. Full integration is the only alternative.

—P. N. DOGRA

Musalman has a price of accession.

—G. M. BAKHSI

'Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan'—is my ideal.

—KASHYAP BUNDHU

'Views of foreigners were coloured'.

—KARAN SINGH

'New Kashmir is my Gita'.

—S. L. SARAF

'Ground is slipping away'.

—SHAMS-UD-DIN

'Possession is nine-tenths in law'.

—G. M. SADIQ

Rise and fall of Leaders since 1931

1. Moulvi Mohammad Yusuf Shah.
2. Prem Nath Bazaz.
3. Mohindar Singh.
4. Lok Nath Sharma.
5. Kashyap Bundhu.
6. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd.
7. Bakhshi Abdul Rashid.

INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION (26.10.'47)

Whereas Independence Act 1947 provides that as from the 15th day of August 1947 there shall be set up an independent Dominion known as India and that the Government of India Act, 1935 shall with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as the Governor General may by order specify be applicable to the Dominion of India. And whereas the Government of India Act 1935 as so adopted by the Governor General provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession executed by the ruler thereof.

Now, therefore, I Shriman Inder Mahinder Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Shri Hari Singh Ji, Jammu and Kashmir, Naresh Tatha Tibbet adi Deshadipathi, Ruler of Jammu Kashmir State, in the exercise of my sovereignty in and over my said State do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and

1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India, the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Dominion Authority established for purpose of the Dominion, shall by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession but subject always to the terms thereof for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir (hereafter referred to as 'this State') such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act 1935 as in force in the Dominion of India on the 15th day of August 1947 (which Act as in force is hereafter referred to as 'the Act').

2. I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to provisions of the Act within the State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of my Instrument of Accession.

3. I accept the matters specified in the Schedule hereto as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make law for the State.

4. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of this State then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of this Instrument and shall be construed and have effect accordingly.

5. The terms of this my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of this Act or the Indian Independence Act 1947 unless such amendment is accepted by me by Instrument supplementary to this Instrument.

6. Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to make any law for this State authorising the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion for the purpose of a Dominion law which applies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense or if the land belongs to me, confer it to them on such terms as may be agreed or in default of agreement determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India.

7. Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit in any way to acceptance of any future Constitution of India or to fetter any discretion to enter into agreement with the Government of India under any such future Constitution.

8. Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my sovereignty in or over this State save as provided by or under this agreement the exercise of any powers, authority and right now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in the State.

9. I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that any reference in this Instrument to me or the Ruler of this State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors.

Given under my hand this 26th day of October 1947.

Hari Singh

Maharajadhiraj of Jammu and Kashmir

Acceptance

I do hereby accept the Instrument of Accession.

Date 27.10.1947

Mountbatten of Burma
Governor General of India

COMPLAINT, CEASE-FIRE ORDER AND TRUCE AGREEMENT

The Government of India, in its complaint to the Security Council, stated.

'In order that the objective of expelling the invader from Indian territory and preventing him from launching fresh attacks should be quickly achieved, Indian troops would have to enter Pakistan territory; only thus could the invaders be denied the use of bases and cut off from their sources of supplies, and reinforcements, in Pakistan. Since the aid which the invaders are receiving from Pakistan is an act of aggression against India, the Government of India are entitled, in international law to send their armed forces across Pakistan territory for dealing effectively with the invaders.' However, as such action might involve armed conflict with Pakistan, the Government of India, ever anxious to proceed according to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, desire to report the situation to the Security Council in accordance with the provisions of Article 35 of the Charter. They feel justified in requesting the Council to ask the Government of Pakistan:

- (1) to prevent Pakistan Government personnel, military and civil, participating in or assisting the invasion of Jammu and Kashmir State;
- (2) to call upon other Pakistan nationals to desist from taking any part in the fighting in Jammu and Kashmir State;
- (3) to deny to the invaders;
 - (a) access to and use of its territory for operations against Kashmir;
 - (b) military and other supplies;
 - (c) all other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the present struggle'.

PAKISTAN DENIES AGGRESSION

When the Security Council took up the matter for consideration, Pakistan emphatically denied that it had any part in the invasion of Jammu and Kashmir. The Pakistan Foreign Minister, Sir Mohd. Zafrullah Khan, informed the Security Council that;

'... the Pakistan Government emphatically deny that they are giving aid and assistance to the so-called invaders or have committed any act of aggression against India. On the contrary and solely with the object of maintaining friendly relations between two Dominions the Pakistan Government have continued to do all in their power to discourage the tribal movement by all means short of war.

In its resolution dated January 17, 1948 (App. I) which was accepted by Pakistan and India, the Security Council called upon Pakistan and India:

- (i) 'to take immediately all measures within their power (including public appeals to their people) calculated to improve the situation and to refrain from making any statements and from doing or causing to be done or permitting any acts which might aggravate the situation; and
- (ii) to inform the Security Council immediately of any material change in the situation which occurs or appears to either of them to be about to occur while the matter is under consideration by the Council, and consult with the Council thereon'.

APPENDIX I

Resolution adopted at the two hundred and twenty-ninth meeting of the Security Council, 17th January 1948 (S/651).

THE SECURITY COUNCIL having heard statements on the situation in Kashmir from representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan;

RECOGNIZING the urgency of the situation; taking note of the telegram addressed on 6th January by its President to each of the parties and of their replies thereto; and in which they affirmed their intention to conform to the Charter;

CALLS upon both the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan to take immediately all measures within their power (including public appeals to their people) calculated to improve the situation and to refrain from making any statements and from doing or causing to be done or permitting any acts which might aggravate the situation;

AND further requests each of those Governments to inform the Council immediately of any material change in the situation which occurs or appears to either of them to be about to occur while the matter is under consideration by the Council, and consult with the Council thereon.

U. N. C. I. P. Resolution of August 13, 1948. (S/1100, Para '75)

The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan having given careful consideration to the points of view expressed by the representatives of India and Pakistan regarding the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and being of the opinion that the prompt cessation of hostilities and the correction of conditions the continuance of which is likely to endanger international peace and security are essential to implementation of its endeavours to assist the Governments of India and Pakistan in affecting a final settlement of the situation.

Resolves to submit simultaneously to the Governments of India and Pakistan the following proposal:

PART I

Cease-Fire Order

A. The Governments of India and Pakistan agree that their respective High Commands will issue separately and simultaneously a cease-fire order to apply to all forces under their control in the State of Jammu and Kashmir as of the earliest practicable date or dates to be mutually agreed upon within four days after these proposals have been accepted by both Governments.

B. The High Commands of the Indian and Pakistani forces agree to refrain from taking any measures that might augment the military potential of the forces under their control in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(For the purpose of these proposals forces under their control shall be considered to include all forces, organised and unorganised, fighting or participating in hostilities on their respective sides.)

C. The Commanders-in-Chief of the forces of India and Pakistan shall promptly confer regarding any necessary local changes in present dispositions which may facilitate the cease-fire.

D. In its discretion and as the Commission may find practicable, the Commission will appoint military observers who, under the authority of the Commission and with the co-operation of both Commands, will supervise the observance of the cease-fire order.

E. The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan agree to appeal to their respective peoples to assist in creating and maintaining an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations.

PART II

Truce Agreement

Simultaneously with the acceptance of the proposal for the immediate cessation of hostilities outlined in Part I, both Governments accept the following principles as a basis for the formulation of a truce agreement, the details of which shall be worked out in discussion between their representatives and the Commission.

A

1. As the presence of troops of Pakistan in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitutes a material change in the situation since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council, the Government of Pakistan agrees to withdraw its troops from that State.

2. The Government of Pakistan will use its best endeavour to secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistani nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purpose of fighting.

3. Pending a final solution, the territory evacuated by the Pakistani troops will be administered by the local authorities under the surveillance of the Commission.

B

1. When the Commission shall have notified the Government of India that the tribesmen and Pakistani nationals referred to in Part II A-2 hereof have withdrawn, thereby terminating the situation which was represented by the Government of India to the Security Council as having occasioned the presence of Indian forces in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and further, that the Pakistani forces are being withdrawn from the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Government of India agrees to begin to withdraw the bulk of its forces from that State in stages to be agreed upon with the Commission.

2. Pending the acceptance of the conditions for a final settlement of the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian Government will maintain within the lines existing at moment of cease-fire the minimum strength of its forces which in agreement with the Commission are considered necessary to assist local authorities in the observance of law and order. The Commission will have observers stationed where it deems necessary.

3. The Government of India will undertake to ensure that the Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will take all measures within its power to make it publicly known that peace, law and order will be safeguarded and that all human and political rights will be guaranteed.

C

1. Upon signature, the full text of the truce agreement or a communique containing the principles thereof as agreed upon between the two Governments and the Commission will be made public.

PART III

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan reaffirm their wish that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people and to that end, upon acceptance of the truce agreement, both Governments agree to enter into consultations with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions whereby such free expression will be assured.

EXTRACT FROM WHITE PAPER ISSUED BY
PLEBISCITE FRONT (1964)

In 1946, on the arrival of the British Cabinet Mission in India, a movement under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was launched in the State which was popularly known as 'Quit Kashmir Movement', aimed at ending the rule of the Maharaja and installing in its place a democratic and popular regime, where the hereditary ruler had no place. This movement owed its genesis to a long period of mis-rule and oppression perpetrated by these hereditary rulers of Kashmir and that movement gained momentum and strength so as to imperil the very existence of the Maharaja. In Poonch particularly, the population rose in open revolt against the Maharaja's rule and the Maharaja had to promulgate Marshal law there to quell this revolt. This demand for supplanting the Maharaja's rule by a democratic set up and for the abolition of the hereditary office of the Maharaja was also blessed and supported by the then Indian National Congress and its foremost leaders, notably Mahatma Gandhi and Pt Jawahar Lal Nehru. The Maharaja confronted with this movement to end his regime, resorted to most stringent measures and in the process his subjects, mainly Muslims, suffered great ruthlessness and tyranny at his hands. This was followed by a tribal raid which succeeded in shaking the Maharaja's rule to its very foundations, so much so that the Maharaja fled the capital of Srinagar and left the population of the Valley to their fate. He, thus, virtually ceased to exercise authority over the State long before he even offered to accede to the Union of India.

On October 24, 1947 Maharaja Hari Singh, on reaching Jammu from the flight from Srinagar, made a request to the Union of India for armed assistance to deal with this situation, without at that time making any offer to accede to the Dominion of India. The Indian Government, however, reacted to this request by averring that troops could not be sent to Kashmir by them unless the State had first offered to accede. The Chiefs of Indian Army, Air Force and Navy were, nevertheless, given directions the same morning "to examine and prepare plans for sending troops to Kashmir by air and road", and simultaneously Mr V. P. Menon, the then State Secretary, was sent to Srinagar evidently charged with a commission to persuade the Maharaja to sign on the dotted line and Mr Menon returned to Delhi on October 26, 1947 with an Instrument of Accession executed by the Maharaja the same day. Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor General of India, reiterated the suggestion made at the Defence Committee meeting held on October 25, 1954, that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir should be considered as temporary to be finalized through a plebiscite, and that the acceptance of the accession, however, was conditional on the will of the people being ascertained as soon as law and order were restored, and "this principle was at once freely accepted and unilaterally proposed by Mr Nehru". In a letter dated

27th October 1947, conveying his acceptance of the State's accession to India, Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor General of India, wrote to the Maharaja that his Government had decided to accept the accession "in the special circumstances mentioned by His Highness". He, however, added that in consistence with "the policy of his Government, where the issue of accession had been the subject of dispute, the question of accession was to be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it was his Government's wish that as soon as law and order had been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the raiders the question of State's accession was to be settled by a reference to the people". Mr V. P. Menon in his book entitled "The Integration of Indian States" had admitted that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir State to India was accepted as "conditional and provisional". Mr Menon had further stated therein that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had agreed to this provisional accession "subject to a plebiscite".

"We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given, and the Maharaja has supported it, not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not, and cannot, back out of it. We are prepared when peace and law and order have been established, to have a referendum under international auspices like United Nations. We want it to be a fair and just reference for people and shall accept their verdict".

President of India's Order on Kashmir I and II

The President of India on May 14 issued an Order under Article 370 of the Constitution implementing the decision of the Jammu and Kashmir State Constituent Assembly on the constitutional relationship between the State and the Indian Union.

The Order which came into effect immediately fully covers the points included in the Delhi Agreement of 1952 except in regard to the Head of the State, provisions relating to whom are to be embodied in the State Constitution.

Under the Order, Parts I to 3, 5 and 11 to 22 of the Constitution of India will be applied to Jammu and Kashmir with appropriate modifications. These relate to citizenship and fundamental rights, the legislative, executive and judicial organs of the Union and their powers, relation between the union and the State, finance, trade, commerce and intercourse within the Union, elections to the Union legislative bodies etc.

In applying these parts of the Indian Constitution certain modifications have been made, in view of the special circumstances of the State and in implementation of the Delhi Agreement. To remove any apprehension that a closer union might prejudicially affect the interest of the permanent residents of the State, the State Legislature has been authorised to make laws safeguarding the interests of the

permanent residents of the State in regard to matters like the acquisition of immovable property, settlement in the State and employment under the State Government.

The State Legislature has been given power to impose restrictions on the exercise of rights relating to freedom of speech and expression, right to form associations and unions and to move freely within the State as may be necessary to safeguard the security of the State, part of whose territory is now in occupation of an alien power; but this special authority would be available only for five years from Friday (May 14).

The Order makes provision to safeguard the land reforms effected in the State a few years ago.

The Supreme Court of India will exercise practically the same jurisdiction in Jammu and Kashmir as in other parts of the country. Besides being the guarantor of the fundamental rights the Supreme Court will have original jurisdiction under Article 131 of the Constitution and appellate jurisdiction in regard to civil and criminal cases. It will be the final judicial authority to interpret the Constitution.

The financial relationship as well as the allocation of taxation powers between the Centre and Jammu and Kashmir State will now be the same as those existing between the Central Government and other Part 'A' or Part 'B' States.

All the important provisions relating to the freedom of inter-State trade and commerce are being applied in full. As a result, customs duties levied by the State Government are being removed. Trade between State and other parts of the Union will now be free and is expected to expand.

While the bulk of the Union list will be applicable, there are important exceptions, for example, the State will retain exclusive competence in regard to matters relating to industrial and mineral development, census and company laws.

Similarly, powers relating to the constitution and organisation of the State High Court, its powers and jurisdiction are also matters within the exclusive competence of the State.

The Concurrent List will not also apply. Again, residuary authority vests in the State. These exceptions mark the special position accorded to the State within the constitutional framework.

The new Order is called 'The Constitution (application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954,' and supersedes a previous order of the same title issued in 1952 applying the provisions of the Constitution relating only to foreign affairs, defence and communications in respect of which the State acceded to the Union in 1947.

Article 370 under which the new comprehensive order has been issued, had left further extension of the Union's jurisdiction or the application of other parts of the Constitution to be made with the concurrence of the Constituent Assembly of the State.

The Tashkent Declaration

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan having met at Tashkent, have decided to improve relations between India and Pakistan, hereby declare their firm resolve to restore peaceful relations between the two countries and understanding and friendly relations between their people. They consider the attainment of these objectives vitally important for the welfare of the 600 million people of India and Pakistan.

The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India agreed that both sides will exert all their efforts to create good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their obligations under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means.

They consider the interests of peace in their region, particularly in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, and indeed in the interests of the people of India and Pakistan, were not served by continuance of tension between the two countries. It was against this background that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed and each side set forth its respective positions.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than February 25 to the positions they held prior to August 5, 1965, and both sides will observe the cease-fire terms and the cease-fire line.

The Prime Minister of India and President of Pakistan have agreed that the relations between India and Pakistan shall be based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other country and will encourage propaganda which will promote the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

The Prime Minister of India and President of Pakistan have agreed that the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan and the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India will return to their posts and normal functioning of diplomatic relations will be restored. Both Governments shall observe the Geneva Conventions of diplomatic intercourse.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations as well as cultural exchanges between India and Pakistan and to take measures to implement the existing agreements between India and Pakistan.

The Prime Minister of India and President of Pakistan have agreed that they will give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of War.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will continue meetings both at the highest and at other levels on matters of direct concern to both countries. Both sides have recognized the need to set up joint Indian-Pakistani bodies which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will continue the discussions of questions relating to the problems of refugees and evictions of illegal immigrations which will prevent the exodus of people. They further agreed to discuss the return of the property and assets taken over by either side in connection with the conflict.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan record their feelings of deep appreciation and gratitude to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and personally to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for their constructive, friendly and noble part in bringing about the present meeting which has resulted in mutually satisfactory results. They also express to the Government and friendly people of Uzbekistan their sincere thankfulness for their over-whelming reception and generous hospitality. They invite the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to witness this declaration.

THE TRAGEDY OF BARAMULLA

About 23 years ago Baramulla shot into world headlines when the tribal raiders, aided and abetted by Pakistan, poured into this small township midway between Srinagar and Uri, and for nearly a week indulged in an orgy of burning, pillage, looting, rape and murder.

By the main highway is a memorial to the youthful Mohammad Maqbool Sherwani, a National Conference worker who was tortured and finally done to death by the raiders. The memorial stands on the spot where they crucified him, and after committing nameless indignities on his writhing tortured body, hacked him to death.

Sherwani died bravely 'Long live Hindu-Muslim unity', he is said to have shouted defiantly. 'Long live Kashmir and India'.

Sherwani was one martyr among many, Kashmiri and non-Kashmiri including some Europeans who were butchered in the precincts of the Catholic Convent and hospital run by nuns of the Franciscan Order of Mary.

The horrifying details of those days of terror from three nuns—one an Italian, another a German, and the third, a Spaniard—who were witnesses to and lucky survivors of the looting and killing.

'We never thought we would be attacked', said the Italian nun who has worked 30 years in Kashmir and spoke Kashmiri and Urdu fluently. 'The raiders swarmed into our compound one morning, and suddenly the whole place was full of them. They took away everything—beds, mattresses, door knobs, electrical fittings, lamps, chairs, tables, curtains, groceries—oh, anything they could move. And what they could not take they destroyed. They smashed to pieces

our X-ray equipment and entering our church desecrated it, destroying all the sacred images, the tabernacle, vestments and candles'.

She went on to describe the killings. A small woman herself she referred continually to the raiders as big men—'so tall and fierce, and they carried all sorts of implements—guns, swords, knives, axes, spears and bayonets, and the tips of many of their spears and bayonets dripped with blood'.

The raiders came in demanding money. Sona, Sona! they clamoured flourishing their guns and knives.

'We had no gold', said the young Spanish nun, 'and we carry no money. I told them so. All of a sudden one of the raiders saw I had two gold teeth in my mouth. They demanded them but I said I could not take them off as they were fitted in. They threw me against a tree, held me, and tried to hack the gold teeth out with knives. They were not human beings but brutes'.

'Here', said the Spanish nun pointing to a spot not far from the door of the church, 'is where they killed Colonel Dykes'.

Colonel Dykes who was only 33 was attached to the Sikh Regiment and his wife who had recently had a child in the hospital was also in the Convent grounds. The raiders took away the Colonel's money, his wrist watch, fountain pen and other knick-knacks as also his coat.

'The colonel', said the nun 'was standing there in his shirt when another party of raiders came along and demanded money from him. He told them he had none, whereupon one of them drew his gun and shot him. He was also stabbed'.

By that time the Convent and hospital grounds were a shambles and there was pandemonium everywhere. The Italian nun said; 'As they looted and attacked us, the raiders kept shouting "Pakistan has come". I only knew that the devil had come'.

In their lust and fury the raiders did not discriminate between men and women. They shot the then Mother Superior, wounded another nun, and killed Mrs Dykes whose naked body was discovered later in a well. Colonel Dykes and his wife left behind them two infant children both of whom were at that time in the Convent grounds. A Spanish woman patient in the hospital as also a Hindu woman patient were killed in their beds.

'The raiders ran about the compound screeching and shouting like madmen', said the Italian nun: 'I was in a verandah when a raider approached me with an axe, removed the nun's coif covering my head, and seizing me by my hair flourished his axe. I thought I was going to die, but suddenly another raider who had come upon a locked chest shouted something, and my raider threw me aside. I think he thought there was treasure or money in the chest. I ran away'.

The Italian nun was to face death a second time. There were at the time twelve nuns in the Convent and the raiders later seized nine

of them including the Italian, Spanish and German nuns with whom I spoke, and ordered them to stand in a line before a firing party.

The Mother Superior described the scene. 'They were made to line up there'. She said indicating a path along a lawn 'The German nun with whom you spoke was one of them. She's a very calm, phlegmatic sort of person. She's been here 24 years working in the hospital. She was one of the last to be brought in by the raiders, and when they directed her to stand in the line she didn't know why she asked the nun next to her the reason. 'They're going to shoot us' was the reply. 'Oh, is that so?' said the German nun and folding her arms behind her back and squaring her shoulders she fell into line'.

'What saved them?' I asked. 'A miracle' said the Mother Superior. 'They were about to be shot and the raiders had actually levelled their guns at them when a Pakistani officer rushed through the gate there shouting 'Stop! Stop!'

The nun along with a couple of Catholic priests, some patients and a number of Hindu refugees who had escaped the raiders scrutiny were then bundled into a wing of the Convent where they stayed for some days. On and on the raiders returned, at times for medical aid, at other times to demand that the women be surrendered to them, a demand which the priests resolutely refused.

'You may kill all of us but you cannot take them', they declared. And the raiders warned by their leaders to leave the Convent staff alone desisted from proceeding beyond threats.

'We had nothing with which to dig their graves', one of the nuns remarked. 'The raiders had taken everything. It took hours to dig their graves with sticks and other crude implements'.

The brutality of the raiders was seen even among those who came to the hospital for medical treatment. One of them, after having his wounds dressed and stitched, coolly pocketed the scissors and forceps which were used for his benefit.

Occasionally they relented in their cruelty. One day a raider seeing one of the nuns, who was distrusted and weeping offered her jar of jam.

'I've plenty more', he said, 'if you want more.'

Looking at the jar the nun recognised it as one of the many in the Convent pantry which the raider had obviously looted. Other incidents were less humorous and more gruesome. A raider who came for medical treatment had the fingers of one of his hands covered with rings.

'Where did you get these?' a nun inquired.

'Oh', said the raider blandly, 'I killed fifteen men to get them'.

'After some days', said the Italian nun, 'a stout, round, rolypoly of a man arrived before whom the raiders prostrated themselves. It was

my old friend, the Pir of Manki Shariff, who in happier days once escorted me in his jeep over the rugged terrain of the North West Frontier'.

The two infant children of Colonel and Mrs Dykes were brought before him, and the Pir solemnly presented thirty rupees to both of them.

'Aren't you ashamed' said one of the nuns, 'to give thirty rupees to the children whose parents your men have killed?'

The Pir said nothing but with his arrival the condition of the nuns and the Convent improved, and the injured and ill among them were taken by convoy to Abbotabad.

So slowly the nightmare lifted, and in time the Indian troops chased the raiders from Baramulla. The nuns are still there.

KASHMIR: FACT AND FICTION

Sheikh Abdullah's arrest proved to be a relatively tame affair in the valley. There were demonstrations at Srinagar but no mass uprising; in some places where the followers of the Sheikh created violent disturbances, they were effectively dealt with by the Kashmir police and militia which had to resort to firing causing loss of some lives. At no stage was the Indian army called upon to act.

The Pakistan press and public, however, were in a frenzy. Sheikh Abdullah, who had for years been dubbed a quisling and stooge of India, overnight became Pakistan's hero. There were protest meetings and demonstrations all over Pakistan against his arrest. Highly inventive stories of the genocide of pro-Pakistan elements in Kashmir were circulated. There were threats of jihad, and top politicians such as Shuaib Qureshi and Khan Abdul Qayum Khan talked of moving Pakistani armed forces into Kashmir 'for ensuring the right of self-determination to their Kashmiri brethren'. As time went, the anti-Indian campaign became more rabid.

Two days after Abdullah's arrest the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali telegraphed to Jawaharlal saying that the whole of Pakistan was greatly perturbed by the developments in Kashmir. He asked for an early meeting between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, in any case before August 17. After some arguments Jawaharlal agreed to it.

During the preceding few months, there had occurred a welcome change in the approach of both India and Pakistan to Indo-Pakistan disputes including Kashmir. The U.N. Representative, Dr Graham, had recommended to the Security Council that the leaders of the two countries might negotiate and conclude an agreement on Kashmir between themselves. In June 1953, during the session of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in London, Jawaharlal Nehru and the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Khwaja Nazimuddin, met and

agreed to have direct talks. The talks in London were followed by a meeting at Karachi in late July between Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohammad Ali, who had meanwhile succeeded Khwaji Nazimuddin. At Karachi, Kashmir was referred to in a general way; detailed discussions were left for Delhi. The mid-August meeting was a continuation of the previous efforts.

The Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan discussed the Kashmir problem in depth for five or six days, and the joint communique issued on August 21, was a masterpiece of goodwill and restraint. It declared that the Plebiscite Administrator would be inducted into Kashmir by the end of April 1954. Prior to that, however, agreement on preliminary issues and how to enforce them was to be reached. For that purpose committees of military and other experts were to be appointed to advise the Prime Ministers. On the Plebiscite Administrator's formal appointment by the Jammu and Kashmir Government, he would examine the situation and report on it.

The selection of the Plebiscite Administrator would have the approval of India and Pakistan, but his formal appointment would be made by the Jammu and Kashmir Government. The Administrator would act independently of the Kashmir Government but under the general supervision of the U.N. He would make such proposals as he thought proper for holding a fair and impartial plebiscite in the entire state and take such steps as may be considered necessary for the purpose.

I was deputed by the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, to proceed to Srinagar and obtain general approval of the terms of the agreement from the Jammu and Kashmir Government. When I met Bakhshi I explained to him that since the day when the Kashmir dispute was referred to the U.N., it had got bogged down into the power politics of the big powers. The U.S.A. and U.K. had both shown unrelenting hostility to India.

The U.S.A. believed those who were not with it were against it. India's policy of non-alignment was interpreted as anti-American. It would, therefore, be an advantage for India to pull the Kashmir dispute out of the U.N. forum and settle it independently with Pakistan. I told Bakhshi that although the communique was silent on the point, it had been agreed that Admiral Nimitz would be replaced by a Plebiscite Administrator hailing from a small country, possibly Asia. That would be of no small gain to India.

Further, India had not given up its stand on maintaining the status of the Kashmir Government as the only lawfully constituted authority in the state. There was no giving in on the demand for the replacement of the Kashmir Government by a neutral or joint administration of India and Pakistan. About demilitarisation, the Pakistani forces in Kashmir could not be treated on a par with the Indian forces. Pakistan had no *locus standi* in any part of Kashmir, while the

Indian soldiers were there by virtue of the accession of the state to India.

Only after the withdrawal of all Pakistani forces from the occupied Kashmir, the Indian forces would be reduced to the minimum necessary for defence and maintenance of internal order of Jammu and Kashmir on the Indian side of the cease-fire line. I urged that all agreements should draw their authority from the consent of the negotiating parties and no agreement could be a one-sided affair. It had to be a compromise. While the time-limit for the appointment of the Plebiscite Administrator was to the advantage of Pakistan, the agreement had the virtue of avoiding power pulls and hostility of big powers.

Bakhshi remained totally unconvinced. He shouted at me and was terribly upset and angry. He told me that he would immediately tender his resignation to the Sadar-i-Riyasat and that the pro-Indian elements should pack up and move down through the Banihal Pass the next day. No amount of persuasion on my part could prevail on Bakhshi and later in the evening he tendered his resignation in writing to the Sadar-i-Riyasat.

We assembled that night at the Sadar-i-Riyasat's palace. Besides Bakhshi and myself, so far as I remember, there were Vishnu Sahay, G. L. Dogra and D. P. Dhar. Our efforts to make Bakhshi desist from resigning were unavailing and he left the palace after a little while. The rest of us started discussing what should be done. If Bakhshi could not be persuaded to withdraw his resignation, it was impossible for us to install any popular government overnight. Inevitably the Sadar-i-Riyasat would have to take the state under his direct rule. What might happen if the normal administration collapsed the next day? We sent for the General commanding the troops in Srinagar and asked him if he could take the responsibility for maintaining law and order if required to do so the next day. He said that he could do it.

It was at this stage that I rang up Jawaharlal Nehru to apprise him of the situation. Jawaharlal Nehru blew up and said that either I had bungled or Bakhshi was a dunder head who could not correctly appreciate the agreement. When I told him that we had made arrangements for the take-over next morning in case the Bakhshi Government ceased to exist in the valley, he was a little calmed. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, who was then standing by the side of Nehru in New Delhi took the telephone receiver and told me that it was all right and we should do our best. I then passed on the telephone to D. P. Dhar. It is this event which Gen. Kaul, in his excessive zeal, has mixed up with Abdullah's arrest. Mullik is nearer the truth when he says that there was a call from me to Jawaharlal Nehru, though in fact it was later and on a different occasion.

The news that we had decided to take over in the event of the collapse of the normal administrative machinery leaked out or was made to leak out to Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad. It is possible that

it had a sobering effect on him, but it may be that meanwhile he had given a second thought to the situation and, for other reasons, decided to withdraw the resignation. The fact remains that Bakhshi withdrew his resignation early next morning. He made a statement that 'the declaration finalised on behalf of the Government of India with our concurrence has our unqualified support'. Thus ended happily what might well have proved a disaster.

Meanwhile negotiations between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan dragged on but every exchange of letters between them widened the gap between their view points. After Pakistan had given in on the issue of Plebiscite Administrator, another more serious hurdle cropped up. The United States had come to an understanding with Pakistan to give arms aid. Jawaharlal took a serious view of it and wrote to Mohammad Ali that 'the effect of it is that the (Pakistan) becomes a pre-determined party as well as a theatre base of arsenal, or all these, in the present conflicts or in a possible war between the two parties'. The demilitarisation of Kashmir and the militarisation of Pakistan were obviously incompatible. The arms aid had brought about a material change in the relations of India and Pakistan.

The correspondence between the two Prime Ministers makes dreary reading. Finally the Prime Minister of Pakistan wrote on September 21, 1954, that direct negotiations between the two Prime Ministers for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute had failed. He had, therefore, decided that the matter must revert to the Security Council. But the then Governor-General of Pakistan, Ghulam Mohammad, the man who took the initiative to start direct negotiations was not, however, prepared to admit defeat.

During the annual session of the Indian National Congress at Avadi on January 21, 1955, C. C. Desai, who had been High Commissioner to Ceylon and Pakistan and had built up some useful contacts in both countries flew to Madras to meet me. He told me that Wajid Ali, a leading businessman of Pakistan and brother of Amjad Ali, Pakistan's Ambassador at Washington, had conveyed him a message asking whether it would be possible to arrange from India an invitation to Ghulam Mohammad who wanted to suggest a new approach to the Kashmir problem.

I talked to Maulana Azad and Jawaharlal Nehru and both of them welcomed the proposal, but warned me to proceed cautiously and be sure of my ground. I asked Chandrakant to call Wajid Ali, who immediately flew to India and met me in New Delhi. He told me that Ghulam Mohammad was suffering from cancer of the throat and he had only one desire—that India and Pakistan should become friends in his lifetime. He wanted to make a last bid. An invitation was issued by the President of India, Rajendra Prasad to Ghulam Mohammad to come to New Delhi and watch the Independence Day Parade on January 26. Ghulam Mohammad was accompanied by a team of powerful aides including three ministers, Dr Khan Saheb, Maj-Gen.

Iskander Mirza and Choudhry Mohammad Ali. They landed at Palam airport on the 25th January and were given a warm reception.

During the stay there were some formal talks on the Kashmir problem between Ghulam Mohammad on the one side and Jawaharlal Nehru and Azad on the other, but the detailed talks were left to me. These were all off the record, mostly through Wajid Ali and Aftab Ahmad Khan, Adviser on Kashmir Affairs to the Pakistan Government. Both of them visited me frequently. It was realized that any plebiscite or referendum would be a prolonged affair and leave a legacy of bitterness. An *ad hoc* settlement on the basis of the cease-fire line was a most feasible solution. We took a map of Kashmir and drew a line making territorial concessions to Pakistan. The line generally followed the cease-fire line but two major concessions—some areas of Poonch and a portion of Rajouri in the south-west—were offered. Ghulam Mohammad could hardly speak, but during a talk with Maulana he blurted out something which created confusion. The Maulana rang me up to know the correct situation, and when I gave him details of the proposal he was satisfied.

All through I had kept Nehru informed of the talks. Ghulam Mohammad discussed the line drawn by us—myself, Wajid and Aftab—on the night preceding his departure from Delhi. On the morning of January 28, I was informed that the Pakistani Governor-General's aides feared that a settlement on the lines proposed would cost Ghulam Mohammad his head. Thus ended the fateful mission and the team flew back to Pakistan.

That Ghulam Mohammad was dead earnest in his efforts for settlement would be borne out by the following extracts from his speech in reply to the toast at the State Banquet proposed by Dr Rajendra Prasad at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi. He said: 'The ideal time has now come to prove, and sincerely prove, that the basic and major points of dispute can be mutually solved without delay. Otherwise, our people will laugh at our insincerity and lack of leadership. Time of action is now; people will not wait'. He continued, 'You have men of goodwill and good sense. So have we. Our two Governments have common objectives—we seek international peace and amity, we seek to secure the uplift of common man'.

He stated further 'Let us put an end to our disputes. We owe this as a duty to posterity and not to leave for them a legacy of misunderstanding and bitterness'.

Noble words! But Ghulam Mohammad did not live to see his dream fulfilled. Many would doubt, though, whether the tide of events could have been turned, even if Ghulam Mohammad had lived longer.

AJIT PRASAD JAIN

'SHEIKH IS CAUSE OF KASHMIR IMBROGLIO'

The cause of the continuing Kashmir imbroglio is Sheikh Abdullah. And the real clue to his shocking transformation from patriot to partisan, from the well-beloved Sher-e-Kashmir to the inspirer of the pro-Pakistan Plebiscite Front is his innate communalism, which revealed itself through his latter-day political attitudes and actions to a disillusioned Jawaharlal Nehru.

This is the burden of Kashmir, the second book of the trilogy captioned 'My Days with Nehru' written by Mr B. N. Mullick, former Director of the Intelligence Bureau, Government of India.

The book, just published, tells the inside story of the political developments in Kashmir following the establishment of responsible government in the State in 1947 under the stewardship of Sheikh Abdullah, following the Maharaja's formal agreement of accession of the State to the Indian Union, re-affirmed later by the State Constituent Assembly's categorical declaration, and the subsequent period of turmoil and torment caused by two Pakistani invasions, conspiracies, sabotage and subversion.

Conspiracy

The book brings to public knowledge, for the first time, details of the nefarious conspiracy engineered by the Plebiscite Front for wrecking the Government formed by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad and to create anarchy in Kashmir. It tells how legal luminaries under the guidance of Mr G. S. Pathak—now Vice-President—painstakingly sifted the mass of evidence incriminating not only the Sheikh and his close assistants including Mirza Afzal Beg, but also his wife Begum Abdullah, and came to the conclusion that there was a strong case to be brought to the courts of justice.

Among the facsimilies of Urdu and English documents produced in court and reproduced in the book are letters from Pakistani agents to various Kashmir Plebiscite Front leaders, receipts allegedly signed by Begum Abdullah for large sums of money from Pakistani sources and a draft resolution, amended by the Sheikh, of the Plebiscite Front calling on the people to liberate Kashmir from India.

In the opinion of Mr Pathak and other legal experts, the prosecution had a cast iron case and yet the Home Ministry—then under Mr Gobind Ballabha Pant, had considerable difficulty in convincing Mr Nehru on the feasibility of going to court against Sheikh Abdullah.

He goes on to describe how the case was eventually brought before the Srinagar Magistrate's Court and the Magistrate eventually committed the accused to stand trial before the Sessions Judge on charges punishable with death or transportation for life.

Later, in September 1963, Mr Nehru wrote to Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed suggesting that the case be withdrawn. 'After issuing the letter, he (Nehru) showed it to me', Mr Mullik says.

'I again protested and said that when the case had been committed to the sessions, to withdraw it without completing the trial would amount to the Government's showing lack of confidence in the prosecution itself. I reminded the Prime Minister of the letter which the Sheikh had written to him during the Chinese aggression and told him that the Sheikh had shown no disposition to change and, in fact, he was now even more bitter and hostile than he had been at any time in the past'.

Mr Mullik records that almost all members of the Cabinet were opposed to dropping the case, 'I later learnt that A. K. Sen had, in protest, tendered his resignation but had been persuaded by Shastriji to withdraw it on the ground that such action would hurt the Prime Minister'.

The problem, was, however, settled unilaterally by the Kashmir Government. On April 5, 1964, the Assistant Director, I.B. telephoned from Jammu saying that the Chief Minister, Mr G. M. Sadiq, had issued a Press statement to the effect that the case against Sheikh Abdullah would be withdrawn immediately.

Whatever may have been Mr Nehru's part in this decision, he was not unaware of Sheikh Abdullah's real nature. Relating an incident during one of the series of discussions the Prime Minister had with his Cabinet colleagues and officials on the Kashmir conspiracy case, Mr Mullick says:

'Then suddenly to our utter surprise Pandit Nehru started talking bitterly against Sheikh Abdullah's communalism. He traced the Sheikh's history from 1930 onwards and mentioned how he had started his career with the Muslim Conference, which was an out and out communal organisation.

Tactical

'He said that as a result of pressures from outside and also seeing the development of the State's people's movement in the rest of India and for purely tactical reasons and probably under the advice of some of his more liberal followers, the Sheikh had coverted the Muslim Conference into the Political Conference to give it a non-communal appearance.

'At this time Pandit Nehru suddenly looked at me and inquired whether I had not come across some information of possible British connivance in that movement. I replied in the affirmative'.

'He continued his talk against the Sheikh and mentioned all his communal activities throughout the period he had acted as the National

Conference leader. It was the Pakistani aggression which had mellowed him a little for a short time, because the tribesmen had committed gruesome atrocities on the Muslim population in the Valley.

'But as soon as he (the Sheikh) became Prime Minister, he came out in his true colours once again and started his anti Hindu activities. In contrast, he praised Bakhshi and Sadiq for their completely non-communal outlook and said that these two were really secular-minded persons who required all support from India.

'Pandit Nehru said that all the trouble in Kashmir was due to the Sheikh's communal outlook and it was he who was not allowing the State to settle down to peace and stability'.

While the full realisation of the Sheikh's communal attitude apparently came to Mr Nehru after several year's association, Sardar Vallabhai Patel had, with his unerring instinct to see through people and judge them, had formed his opinion of the Kashmir leader much earlier.

This fact is borne out by Mr Mullick in his book, when he records his unnerving interview in August 1949, with the Home Minister who had called him in to explain why he had sent in his report on Kashmir, his first following a visit to the State, to the Prime Minister without consulting him. After Mr Mullick had explained how he had only reported to the Director, IB (he was at that time Assistant Director), the Sardar was mollified.

'The Sardar then gave me his own view about Sheikh Abdullah'. Mr Mullick writes, 'He apprehended that Sheikh Abdullah would ultimately let down India and Jawaharlal Nehru and would come out in his real colours. His antipathy to the Maharaja was not really an antipathy to a ruler as such, but to the Dogras in general and with the Dogras he identified the rest of the majority community in India.

'In his slow voice, he firmly told me that my assessment (in my first report) of Sheikh Abdullah was wrong though my assessment of public opinion in Kashmir valley about accession was probably correct . . . He said that I would soon discover my error but, at the same time he complimented me on the way the report had been written and the pains I had taken over it. That was the greatness of the Sardar'.

CHAPTER XII

TRADE TREATY

Under the Treaty of 2nd May between the British Government and the Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir, the British Government undertook to refund to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur the duties on all goods declared at ports in British India as bonded for Kashmir and to the importers duty on all such goods declared for Central Asia, on the Maharaja Bahadur's undertaking to return to free trade between Central Asia and British India through Kashmir exempt from taxation and restrictions of any kind. The following are the terms of the Treaty:

Whereas in the interest of the high contracting parties and their respective subjects, it is deemed desirable to afford greater facilities that at present exist for the development and security of the trade with Central Asia, the following articles have, with this object, been agreed upon:

Article I—With the consent of the Maharaja, officers of the British Government will be appointed to survey the trade routes through the Maharaja's territories from the British Frontier of Lahoul to the territories of the Ruler of Yarkand, including the route via the Changchaumo Valley. The Maharaja will depute an officer of his Government to accompany the Surveyors and will render them all the assistance in his power. A map of the routes surveyed will be made, an attested copy of which will be given to the Maharaja.

Article II—Whichever route towards the Changchaumo Valley shall after examination and survey as above, be declared by the British Government to be best suited for the development of trade with Central Asia, shall be declared by the Maharaja to be a free highway in perpetuity and at all times for the travellers and traders.

Article III—For the supervision and maintenance of the road in its entire length through the Maharaja's territories, the regulation of traffic on the free high way described in Article II, the enforcement of regulations that may hereafter be agreed upon, and the settlement of disputes between carriers, traders, travellers or others using that road, in which either of the parties or both of them are subjects of the British Government or any Foreign State, two Commissioners shall be annually appointed, one by the British Government and one by the Maharaja. In the discharge of their duties, and as regards the period of their residence, the Commissioners shall be guided by such rules as are now separately framed and may from time to time hereafter be laid down by the joint authority of the British Government and the Maharaja.

Article IV—The jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall be defined by a line on each side of the road of a maximum width of two statute kos, except where it may be deemed by the Commissioners necessary to

include a wider extent for grazing grounds. Within this maximum width, the surveyors appointed under Article I, shall demarcate on a map the limits of jurisdiction which may be decided by the Commissioners as most suitable, including grazing grounds: and the jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall not extend beyond the limits so demarcated. The land included within these limits shall remain in the Maharaja's independent possession; and subject to the stipulations contained in this Treaty, the Maharaja shall continue to possess the same rights of full sovereignty therein as the other parts of his territories, which rights shall not be interfered with in any way by the Joint Commissioners.

Article V—The Maharaja agreed to give all possible assistance in enforcing the decision of the Commissioners and in preventing the breach of evasion of the regulation established under Article III.

Article VI—The Maharaja agreed that any person, whether a subject of British Government or of the Maharaja or of the Ruler of Yarkand, or of any Foreign State may settle at any place within the jurisdiction of the Joint Commissioners and may provide, keep and maintain and let on hire at different stages the means of carriage and transport for the purpose of trade.

Article VII—The two Commissioners shall be empowered to establish supply depots, and to authorise other persons to establish such places on the road as may appear to them suitable; and fix the rates at which provisions shall be sold to traders, carriers, settlers and others and fix the rent to be charged for the use of any rest houses or *serais* that may be established on the road. The officers of the British Government in Kulu etc. and officers of the Maharaja in Ladakh shall be instructed to use their best endeavours to supply provisions on the indent of the Commissioners at market rates.

Article VIII—The Maharaja agrees to levy no transit duty whatever on the aforesaid highway; and the Maharaja further agrees to abolish export duties now levied on shawls or other textile fabrics manufactured in the territories of the Maharaja and exported to countries beyond the limits of British India.

CHAPTER XIII

LEASE OF GILGIT

Agreement between the British Government and Colonel His Highness Maharaja Hari Singh, Inder Mohinder Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., A.D.C., Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, his heirs and successors, executed on the one part by Lieutenant Colonel Lionel Edward Lang, C.I.E., M.C., in virtue of full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Honourable Freeman-Thomas, Earl of Willingdon. P.C., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., O.B.E., Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and on the other part by Colonel His Highness Maharaja Hari Singh aforesaid. It is hereby agreed as follows:

Article I—The Viceroy and Governor-General of India may at any time after the ratification of this agreement assume the civil and military administration of so much of the Wazarat of Gilgit Province (herein after referred to as the 'said territory') of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as lies beyond the right bank of the river Indus, but notwithstanding anything in this agreement the said territory shall continue to be included within the dominions of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Article II—In recognition of the fact that the said territory continues to be included within the dominion of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir salutes and customary honours shall be paid in the said territory by the administration on the occasion of the birthday of His Highness, Baisakhi, Dussehra, Basant-Panchmi and on such other occasions as may be agreed upon by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. The flag of His Highness will be flown at the official headquarters of the Agency throughout the year.

Article III—In normal circumstances no British Indian troops shall be despatched through that portion of the Wazarat of Gilgit Province which lies beyond the left bank of the river Indus.

Article IV—All rights pertaining to mining are reserved to His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. The grant of prospecting licences and mining leases will be made during the period of the agreement mentioned below.

Article V—This agreement shall remain in force for sixty years from the date of its ratification and the leases will terminate at the end of that period.

Signed and exchanged at Jammu this 26th day of the month of March, 1935.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION

We study from the history of the past that the Kashmiris were no aborigines living in mere jungle. Their jungle was the sacred land to which the scholars of the world paid homage. Even to the present day the sacred city of Banaras—the Hindu Rome of India—acknowledges the intellectual superiority of Kashmir. Every boy there walks seven paces towards Kashmir at the time when his thread ceremony takes place. Alberuni* (1017-1030 A. D.) says that Banaras and Kashmir are the high schools of Hindu Science. It is Kashmir that produced the greatest historians, poets and philosophers. 'The country once enjoyed great fame as the seat of the original paradise of the human race and was in earliest time one of the principal seats of Indian culture'. The Kashmiris of today descend from the mighty sages of the past who have left behind a rich legacy, not in the shape of jewels and palaces but, more valuable than them, in the shape of 'Books: Venus: Books'. It is the Kashmiris who always became the intellectual masters of every power that subjugated their country.

Kashmir was too deeply rooted in its tradition to wither away under the storm of foreign conquest. The old ascetic life has survived the shock of as many centuries of alien tyrannical rule. The people have known prosperity, poverty, religious strife, wars with invaders, shocks of earthquakes, floods, droughts, plagues and pestilences. Even the royal holiday-makers were no exception to such shocks. Shah Jahan himself once took shelter in a fisherman's boat to save himself from the rushing torrent. Such are the Kashmiris, the mighty sons of their mighty sires.

The account recorded in these few pages is only a brief review of an interval of about five to seven thousand years. The boys now reading history at school will find a surprise as they will grow up but the lessons of history will not have been wasted if they learn the value of studying the past impartially.

The Kashmiri race which has survived the rude shocks of history comes from one stock, inherit one culture and speak one common tongue. Religion has played a small part in their daily life. Under foreign rule they lost martial instinct, but they retained their gifted

*Elsewhere he says, 'No one is admitted to Kashmir now except Jews. Even formerly accredited persons alone were admitted.....The Sindh rises in the Kalarjak mountain where you reach through Gilgit where live the Bhutta Turks. Their King is called Bhutta Shah.' (This shows that these Turks were Hindus and Gilgit according to Sir George Grierson still shows traces of Vedic civilization and language).

intelligence which is exhibited by their art and crafts. They figured in literature, medicine, arts and crafts, sculpture, music, painting, calligraphy and what not. Here are a few names: Habba Khatun, Mulla Mohsin Fani, Mohd Azam Hassan Shah, Lal Ded (1342-45), Mahjoor, Parmanand, Ghani and now Arif, Nadim, Masterji etc., etc.

They of course stand little comparison to Kashmiris who made a mark in poetry, philosophy, drama, medicine, theology, even sexual science etc. before the 12th century. Degeneration and demoralisation came as people started adjusting themselves from time to time to this clique or that clique that gained power temporarily.

As far back as 1892 W. R. Lawrence said—'Perhaps no country furnishes so curious a record of constant change as Kashmir and it is a matter for surprise that under rapid transmission of Governments, varying in race, religion and language, the people of the valley should have retained their peculiar nationality un-impaired'. This has proved true even now.

CHAPTER XV

CHARACTER OF THE KASHMIRIS*

Kashmiris have easy and pleasant lives. In time of danger they show much courage and endurance. Physically they are among the finest people on earth. Their physique, their character and their language are so marked as to produce a nationality of its own. Intellectual superiority, keenness of perception, clearness of mind and ingenuity dominate their character. Alert intelligence, quick wit and artistic feeling show in them signs of a bright future. They are essentially of mild and cheerful disposition. Their versatile genius wins laurels for them everywhere. They are extremely hospitable and carry the arts of civil life to high perfection. Sir Francis Younghusband remarks 'In spite of the splendid Moghuls, brute Pathans, bullying Sikhs and rude Dogras the Kashmiris ever remained the same'. The conquerors came in hordes but they scarcely touched the soul of the people. Says Bernier, 'Kashmiris are celebrated for wit and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians. In poetry and science they are no inferior to the Persians. They are also very active and industrious'. It is possible for a people to deteriorate under foreign yoke and that is why a Kashmiri did not mind to speak a lie sometimes†. Men and women generally dress alike. The Pheran‡, a long loose gown, is the principal item of their dress. This helps to breed cowardice in them. Without it they look like a fine race. Untouchability between the two sister communities is quite unknown. However you may annoy him, the Kashmiri will never attempt to offend you. To provoke his neighbour is not in his scheme. Recent events have shown that the Kashmiris are not timid. Isolation from the outer world accounted for the stable unchanging nationality of the Kashmiris till Pratap Singh's reign'. Cunningham says that 'Kashmiris are the most immortal race of India'.

Says Dr Neve: 'On the whole the Kashmiris are grateful to benefits. Their moral sense is fairly developed. They readily distinguish between right and wrong'. As recorded in the Rucat-i-Alamgiri-Aurangzeb is believed to have said at Agra: 'The Kashmiris are

*Bulk of this Chapter is taken from an article headed "Character of the Kashmiris" by the author which appeared in the *United India and Indian States* in 1923 A.D. (Published then from Madras).

†'Kashmir is the home of lies"—Mediaeval India-Lanepoole.

‡The Kashmiri Pandits have begun to discard it now along with other social evils. It is held that the Kashmiris adopted it from the Jews just as they picked up other traits from them. Pheron and Kangri are also traced to Badshah's time. Kangri (Scaldino) is borrowed from Italians according to Dr. Elmslie but it is mentioned in Rajtarangini also (iii, 171).

not to be found here that we might appoint them in Public offices'. Writes Dr Neve of the Pandits elsewhere: 'Their intellectual superiority over the rest of the population must be admitted. They are quick of apprehensions and have good memories. One of their besetting faults is conceit. But some of them are very superior, trustworthy, honest, clearheaded and industrious'. A French gentleman, M. Hick, has written that the Kashmiris are a race of most superior order in every respect. 'The Kashmiris resemble the Konkanasthas and their countries also resemble as they both produce rice which accounts for their intelligence. But in two respects the two people differ. The Kashmiris are eaters of flesh from ancient times and have not given up flesh eating even now. The Konkanasthas appear to have been vegetarians from ancient days. The former again usually wear the beard but the latter do not (beard looks rare now). Beards in Kashmir are ancient and pre-Mohammadan as we have already seen from Kalhana's description of Brahmins collected for the election of a King'.

The following passages from 'The India We Served' by Sir W. R. Lawrence who worked in Kashmir for some time will be read with great interest. 'The Kashmiris are called Hawabin. Nowhere in the East have I met anybody of men so clever and so courteous as the Kashmiri Pandits. The people were Kashmiris as they are, in spite of centuries' of repression and wanton cruelty. Physically they were splendid, in spite of the effeminate dress which foreign tyrants had imposed on them. As cultivators, as artisans and as artists they are unrivalled in the East and for brains the Kashmiri Pandit is hard to beat, as all India knows well. They are to be found in many provinces of British India and in the Indian States in the higher ranks of officialdom. And I say after careful examination that the Kashmiris are perhaps as great a people as any in the East. But they will beat all three—Rajputs, Pathans and Punjabis as cultivators, as artisans or as wits. I saw also the growth of self-respect and of manliness and am confident that under a just Government they will win a good name. They not only know the facts but had the most surprising genius for appraising the real value of other men's lands. They supported their valuation by most logical and convincing arguments and during my 21 years in India I have never met the equal of these Kashmiri sages'.

'The type of the old Pandits—these literati were, to be sure, excellent people and admirably versed in their Sanskrit texts but they were devoid of historical sense and their intellectual horizon was bounded by the narrow limits of their native valley. . . , but the race possessed exceptional intellectual qualities'.—Prof. A. Foucher.

Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar in his book 'History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V, 1924 edition, page 415,' writes: 'So backward were the people in civilization that even the upper classes of Kashmiris were deemed unfit to be employed in the Imperial Service as Mansabdars, till near the end of Aurangzeb's reign'. We learn that it was only in 1699 that the Emperor was first induced by the then Subedar to appoint people of Kashmir as Mansabdars in any appreciable number. . .

No Kashmiri Hindu gained any office under the Moghul Empire. And as for the common Muslims of the province if they were villagers they were despised as ignorant savages, and townsmen as lying flatterers and cowardly cheats. In this universal closing of honourable and responsible careers to talent, the intellectual cleverness of certain classes of the natives developed into glibness of tongue, low cunning and skill in treacherous intrigue so that in Moghul India a Kashmir came to be a by-word for a smooth spoken rogue as the Gracculus was in the early days of the Roman Empire'. Prof. Sarkar says that this account is based on *Tarikh-i-Azmi*. How this observation is misleading may be studied from the following quotation: Aurangzeb once paid a compliment to the intelligence of the Kashmiris specially that of the Pandits at Agra as is recorded in the *Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*: 'Kashmiri darin mulk nestand ki ma muqqarar kunem' (The Kashmiris are not to be found here that we might appoint them in public offices).

Sir Walter again writes: 'A man who can be beaten and robbed by any one with a vestige of authority soon ceases to respect himself and his fellowmen and it is useless to look for the virtues of a free people among the Kashmiris, and unfair to twist them with the absence of such virtues. The Kashmiri is what his rulers have made him, but I believe and hope that two generations of a just and strong rule will transform him into a useful, intelligent and fair honest man'.

Roughly speaking from 13th to 19th Century the Kashmiri Pandit was reduced to the position of a surf. From high intellectual plane he moved to earth and became practically earthly. He tilled land, digged graves, became a tailor, *chikanduz*, mason, carpenter, petty shopkeeper and what not. His survival was a miracle. His poverty could be seen in his kitchen which boasted of some utensils of clay that could not be replaced even on festival days. With the change in administration he seized some petty jobs. This further aggravated his situation. He came under the vicious influence of *Khandani* and *Kamina*. He gave up his profession and became a parasite. Vices overpowered him which prevented him from rising into full manhood even with the spread of modern education. But he was not always what he appears to be now. He is a subject for study.

With the change over in administration in 1947 his position was again reversed. He was driven 125 years backwards. Though obviously acute un-employment did not eat him up as before, he became cripple morally, politically and economically. It is doubtful if the old ideal will survive the present rude shock which civilization has received in this revolution.

The Muslim, on the other hand, did all sorts of jobs and that is why he is growing into full manhood in the changed circumstances.

CHAPTER XVI

FABRIC OF SOCIETY IN KASHMIR AS DEPICTED IN RAJTARANGINI

Religion: Historians maintain that the real history of Kashmir begins with the reign of Asoka. Buddhism went on its way side by side with Hinduism. There was no religious antipathy which often leads to persecution. It some times happened that while the father adhered to one faith the son adhered to another (*iii* 2 and 99). Sometimes kings and their ministers also professed different faiths (*iii* 350 and 380). Grants of land to temples, Brahmins and monasteries were immense but either diverted or confiscated (*iv* 395, *v* 170, *vi* 175; *vii* 106, 570, 696 and 1344, *viii* 2755).

Atheists also there existed many. For instance, Kalhana narrates how the king's cousin came to the king with a grievance against his own son who wanted to oust him (*vii* 252). Again Harsha would not have succeeded in his way had there been a really unanimous adverse public opinion (*vii* 1090).

Caste: There was no caste system during the reign of Ashoka, Kanishka, Jashka and Hashka (*i* 170). Even if it did exist it was not so rigid as at present. Brahmins, however, seem to have existed as a distinct caste (*i* 342, *iv* 96 and 645).

References to caste commenced from Chandrapida. Lalitaditya's mother had been the wife of a foreign merchant (*iv* 37). A tanner who prayed for an interview with the king calls himself a pariah (*iv* 76). The Prime Minister of Lalitaditya was a Mongolian and a Buddhist. (*iv* 211). A glimpse of Kayasthas may be had from among the people (*iv* 621, *vii* 38 and *viii* 2383). Chandals, i.e., men of impure caste, are first mentioned in Jayapida's time (*iv* 475). They worked as watchmen and scavengers (*v* 74, *vi* 76 and 192 *v* 77). A reference to Vaishas may be found in the accounts of the eleventh century. Often persons of low caste rose to highest positions (*vii* 207, *v* 73, *iv* 672, *viii* 3423, 3429, *vii* 1460 *v* 383). Once a Prime Minister of Jayasinha treated 64 castes to excellent food at a sacrificial feast (*viii* 2407).

The first three books of Rajtarangini make no reference to Rajputs or Kshatriyas. Jayapida gave himself out to be a Rajput and won a beautiful bride. Rajputs are not again mentioned till eleventh century. The army sent by king Trilokapala against Mahamud of Ghazni consisted of many Rajputs (*vii* 48). We also find four arrogant Rajput princes at the court of the Kashmir king (*vii* 274). From that time the number increased (*vii* 325, 360 and 368). Seldom did Kashmir tolerate non-Kashmiris (*viii* 1328)*. The word 'Kshatriya' first

* The State Subject's Definition passed in 1927 is a testimony to this.

appears as applied to king Harsha of Kashmir and so then to Bhoja, Prince Sangiva, Lanaraja and so on (*viii* 376, 3031, 3232, 3348, 1190 and 1191).

Though there existed some castes yet the great mass of population was not divided by any very rigid lines of demarcation. The process of differentiation was there but it never reached anything like the rigidity of caste system as displayed in modern India (*vi* 130).

Institutions of Government: Up to Asoka's time there were seven main State officials: the Judge, the Revenue Superintendent, the Treasurer, the Commander of the Army, the Envoy, the Priest and the Astrologer. Asoka's successor established the traditional eighteen offices (*i* 118). Lalitaditya appointed five princes to supervise these officials (*iv* 141). These posts did not become generally hereditary.

There were regular law cases. Sometimes the king tried himself (*vi* 14 and *vii* 123). People dissatisfied with law courts or with executive actions used to go out on hunger strike (just as in Japan) and commit suicide.

The king maintained regular spies or informers (the present C.I.D.) to give him all news of interest (*v* 81, *viii* 511, *vi* 14 and *vi* 82). Mention of hunger strikes is made in *vii* 939, *vii* 658, 900, 2224 and 2225, *vi* 602. King Uccala hit on a novel method of keeping his judges honest. He took a vow that if anyone killed himself by hunger-strike he would himself commit suicide (*viii* 51). Deeds of sale were executed in writing.

Sometimes people were banished for forgery (*vi* 30, 38, 41). Interest was rarely paid (*viii* 155). The head of a family was taken to task for the immoral conduct of a woman (*viii* 3336). Universities and hospitals existed everywhere (*iii* 461, *vi* 87). City prefects only amassed money in the time of a mean king. It is seldom that they introduced useful reforms (*vi* 70, *vii* 3335 and 3336). We find that the institution of *begar* (forced labour) also existed (*v* 174, *vii* 2513, *vii* 1088). The land revenue was collected in kind through the Patwari (*v* 175, *iv* 628). Jayapida and rulers of his way of thinking often took the whole grain from the people (*iv* 628, 347, 631, *vii* 1107). Yet there were benevolent rulers also who issued grain at cheap rates from the State granaries to relieve distress (*vii* 61).

Finance: Collection of the revenue was on the whole irregular (*iv* 189, *vii* 3335). Tolls were levied on the bridges (*viii* 136) and customs were collected at the fortified Frontier Posts. King's name in red lead was stamped on goods which had paid customs (*viii* 2010).

Army: Infantry and cavalry composed the Army (*v* 248). Passes were strongly fortified and jealously guarded under Dwarapati or Warden of the Marches. It was the general policy in those days to see that people got no opportunity to rise against their rulers (*iv* 345, 346, 347, 348; 349-52). But this policy did not ultimately succeed as can be seen from the rise of the Domaras.

Customs and Habits: Pardah was quite unknown. Sati was almost in fashion (*v* 226, *xiii* 448, 1223-24, *vii* 868, 1380, 103, 481, 724, 478, 1486, 1579 *vi* 107 *viii* 445 and 1441) much more in royal families than among the masses. Drinking spirit was held respectable among high class people (*vii* 1466, *iv* 310, *v* 206, *vi* 10150, *vii* 285, *viii* 868 and 1866). Cats and dogs were kept as pets (*viii* 139, 2413). Famines were due to isolation, internal commotions and freaks of nature such as floods, drought etc.

A disease called the Luta disease was much dreaded. Exhibition of singing and dancing, religious festivals and pilgrimages were amusements of the people (*vii* 515). Kings sometimes went jackal-hunting; throwing spears were used (*vi* 181.) Dogs and nets were also used. Doms were netters (*vi* 182). Falcons were kept (*vii* 1064). People used to bow to the new moon in the hope of getting new clothes (*viii* 798). The art of gold plating on copper was introduced in the latter half of eleventh century (*vii* 529 *viii* 3364).

CHAPTER XVII PHENOMENA IN KASHMIR

There are many places and things in Kashmir which are peculiar in themselves and some of them quite beyond ordinary human comprehension. The orthodox Hindus, taking them as divine manifestations, worship them while others consider that they are merely nature's phenomena.

1. *Amarnath*—The celebrated cave of Amarnath situated in a long glacial gorge high among the eastern mountains is visited by thousands of Hindu pilgrims from Kashmir and different parts of India on the full Moon Day of the month of Sawan (July-August) every year. It contains a self-formed Lingam of ice (the emblem of Siva) which increases and decreases with the waxing and the waning of moon.

For this reason the cave is visited on a full moon day. It is sending out an irresistible call to the hundreds and thousands of pilgrims from the remotest corners of India who crawl up this height year after year. Some say that the Lingam is simply the stalactite, and stalagmite described fully in books on Geology. These are icicle like incrustations of lime, chalcedony, etc. which often cover the roofs of caverns and fissures which arise from the dropping water holding these rock matters in solution. Columns of these solid matter collect, rise and expand and in course of time become hard stone. They are found in many countries of the world including England. But these things are entirely different from the substance of the Lingam in the Amarnath cave. This Lingam is not impregnated with any matter but it is composed of simply pure water turned into ice. Nor is it an ice spring as some say, for on Amavasya day the ground on which it stands is found dry. There is of course gypsum in the cave but it does not form the ingredient of the ice Lingam. The water is thawing from the roof but it does not fall on the Lingam. This ice Lingam waxes and wanes with the moon stated above which has been observed by several reliable persons who have stayed at Panchtarni (6 miles this side of the cave) for a full month and have from there visited the cave daily. Had this Lingam been stalactite and stalagmite, many geologists and specially non-Hindus should have raised their derisive voice and they should have made this fact known to the world long long ago. On the contrary, this phenomenon is considered wonderful by not only Indian philosophers including men like Swami Vivekananda who says in his book that he was all ecstasy on seeing it but also by European scientists aware of the formation of rock matters in caves and fissures. In fact had this been the case in regard to Amarnath the cave should have been filled up by the sediments ages ago.

This pilgrimage is mentioned in Book 1,267 of the Raitarangini in the accounts of King Nara who reigned in Kashmir in 1048-1008 B.C.

which proves that even before the time of Kalhana, the author of the book who lived in the 12th century of the Christian Era, it was annually visited by pilgrims.

2. *Tulmula in Lar*: There is a spring at this village, the water of which changes colour every now and then. Sometimes it is pink, sometimes green and so on. The Hindus worship there. A large fair is held at this place on the 8th and 15th day of the bright fortnight specially of Jeth (May-June).

3. *Takar in Uttarmachlipura*: There is a spring the water of which like the Tulmula spring changes colour every now and then.

4. *Trisandhya or Sunderbrari*: This is the name of an intermittent spring in the south of the Divalgam village in Brang. It remains dry all the year round except in the month of Baisakh-Jeth (April-May). At first the water flows out continuously for some days as from an ordinary spring and then it does so at intervals, that is to say, the spring becomes quite void of water and again the water re-appears and flows out. This intermittance occurs several times in twenty-four hours until, in course of time the number of ebb and flow gradually dwindles down to three and then to nine. A Persian poet has written the following couplet describing this spring:

Turfa aini hast do Kashmir namish sand brar,
Amdu rafte ajab dard ba rox wa shab sah hal.

5. *Rudra Sandhya*: This is also a spring like Trisandhya, dry during the whole year but flowing with water continuously for some days and then getting void of it at intervals during the months of Baisakh and Jeth (April-May). It is six miles from Verinag towards the west.

6. *Wasuknag*: This is a very large spring, six miles further west from Rudra Sandhya. It remains quite dry for six months of winter but flowing with water (which forms a big stream irrigating large area) for six months of summer.

7. *Pawanasandhya*: There is a spring of this name situated five miles to the east of Verinag. It ebbs and flows continuously as though it breathes Pavana or air like a living creature; hence its name. A fair is held there on the Amavas day of Bahadun. A Persian poet describes it in the following couplet:

Chashmai digar ba Kashmir ast mamish pona sand,
Hast har dam wa raftash cbu anflas rajal.

8. *Sapta-Rishi*: There are seven springs close to one another at Vithavatur near Verinag, which like Vasuknag, remain dry for six months of winter and flowing with water during summer months.

9. *Halamatpura in Uttarmachlipura*: There are five springs near one another. A Lingam of stone is in one of these springs which is said to move by itself round making one move from one corner to the other in one month. Some people explain this as below:

The bed of the spring is sandy and its level varies with the action of water-oozing which makes one corner higher and the other lower alternately, and thus the Lingam (which does not stand vertical but is lying in a horizontal position) in the bed of the spring rolls down from the higher to the lower corner under the law of gravitation.

10. *Dubjan in Shopian*: There is a spring called Tatadan, the water of which is warm. A similar spring exists at a place 68 miles from Anantnag across the Margan Pass.

11. *Brang*: There is a spring at the village Gagar-Tahunda (10 miles from Anantnag towards Verinag) above Larikpora which is called Konnag by the Mohammadans and Sita-Kund by the Hindus. Some of the fish therein are blind in one eye.

12. *Lar*: There is a lofty mountain called Haramukh in Lar. The popular notion is that a snake within sight of this mountain will not bite.

13. There is a cave temple called Dyaneshwar on a hill 12 miles to the east of Bandipura, above Sinthan village in the Arin Nulla, in which there are stone forms like the teats of cow on its ceiling from which water drops down below. It is reached through a narrow passage about ■ yard in diameter and two chains long. There is a self-formed Lingam in it.

14. There is a cave at Bamzu to the north of Mattan, the length of which none has yet been able to find. Another similar cave exists at Beru in which the famous ascetic and philosopher, Abhinava Gupta together with his 1,200 disciples, is said to have entered and to have not returned.

15. There is a place called Swambhu or Suyam, half-a-mile to the south-west of the village Nichiham, in Machhipura, where after a long period, say once in 30 years, the earth gets heated for a year or so when the Hindus go there on pilgrimage. Rice with water in pots buried to neck into the earth gets cooked by this heat and the Hindus offer cakes of rice, thus cooked, in the name of their deceased relations. A flame is also produced by pouring down ghee, sugar and camphor in a hole dug into the earth about a foot deep. This is evidently a volcanic phenomenon.

16. There is a tiny little island in the midst of the Jhelum, at Prayag on the junction of the Sindh with the Jhelum, on which is ■ small Chinara which does not either grow taller or bigger though years have passed since when it has been there.

17. Wayyan village (Wular): 11½ miles to the southeast of Srinagar. There is a spring bathing in which has the effect of curing itch. There is also a similar spring at Anantnag, called Malknag and also at Sadar-Qutabal, 22 miles from Srinagar on the Bandipur road. Medical men say that they are sulphurated hydrogen springs.

18. There is ■ spring on the top of the Sarbal mountain in Kashmir which is called Tsumnag. The water of this gushes out with great force, making whirls like the potter's wheel.

19. There is a rock on the top of the hillock called Haldar, overlooking the Manasbal Lake towards its northeast. It rises $\frac{1}{2}$ mile above the shrine of Baba Saleh or $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles above the lake.

The spot is called Maktaphikhar and is situated near the village called Ingura to the north of the Larkul Nallah. The ascent to it is over the plateau called Hanan. From underneath this rock a little water is oozing out. Every year on the Nirjala Ikadashi day a fair is held here. The pilgrims sing in one chorus 'Balbadra Haldharo Palaponi Traw' meaning 'O Balbadra Haldar, allow water to flow out from under this rock'. Then suddenly water flows out in a large volume from underneath this rock which suffices for the bathing of the pilgrims assembled. At this spot there was a strange image of a cow from whose four teats water used to come out in drops. It is said that about 100 years ago this image was removed by the peasants of the neighbouring villages and buried somewhere under rocky earth nearby.

20. At Yaripura village, five miles to the north of Kulgam, a thick roundish somewhat flat-surfaced boulder not exceeding one maund in weight is lifted up by 11 Mohammadan priests standing in a circle round it, each holding it upon his right hand index finger while uttering the number 11.

21. At the village of Tulmula in the Lar Pargana, fish are caught from under the dry earth throughout the year. This village is situated on a riparian marshy land, having an inlet from the Sindh River. Fish reach there in flood water and burrow holes for themselves underneath the village surface. When the water recedes they get stranded in their burrows. They are afterwards caught as under: A long pole with a hook fastened to its end is pricked into the soft earth to the depth of five or six yards and when pulled out five or six fish are found entangled in the hook. These are found in a languid condition, but when put in water, they resume respiration and move about.

22. There is a big yew tree at the village Halthal in the Yachh Pargana under whose shade large crowds of people can sit down. Notwithstanding its large size, even if a little branch of it is shaken, the whole tree, from its top down to its trunk, begins to shake. A Persian poet has written thus in regard to this tree:

Ba niazeki badastash nabud nim darm
Tanash az faqa abariz achu darkhat halthal

CHAPTER XVIII

MONUMENTS OF KASHMIR

It is after the rise of Buddhism that Hindus began to build temples. The Kashmir classical style is fundamentally different from any other style of Hindu architecture. Writes Sir A. Cunningham, 'The architectural remains of Kashmir are perhaps the most remarkable of the existing monuments of India as they exhibit undoubted traces of the influence of Grecian art. The Hindu temple is generally a sort of architectural pasty, a huge collection of ornamental fritters huddled together, either with or without keeping, while the Jain temples, usually a vast forest of pillars, made to look as unlike one another as possible by some paltry differences in their petty details. On the other hand, the Kashmirian fanes are distinguished by the graceful elegance of their outlines, by the massive boldness of their parts, and by the happy propriety of their decorations'.

'They cannot indeed vie with the severe simplicity of the Parthenon nor with the luxuriant gracefulness of the monument of Lysicrates, but they possess great beauty, different indeed, yet quite their own'.

'The Kashmirian architecture is characterised by its lofty pyramidal roofs, its trefoiled door ways, covered by pyramidal pediments, and the great width of its intercolumnations suited equally well to rainy and snowy climates. There is no doubt that the Kashmirian style was well-known to the Greeks. A Kashmirian pillar has a base, a shaft and a capital. The local architecture has also a stereotyped style. The trefoil arch of Kashmir is very original and interesting as may be seen from the remains of some old monuments'.

Go wherever you may, you must meet with some old wonder. One wonders when he beholds an ancient monument whose huge and massive constructions built in days of yore stand to this day as witnesses of a race of giants, unequalled in the histories of chivalry, who once occupied this beautiful land. The reason is plain. The old architects built their temples solid. Their object was to construct imperishable abodes for their Gods to dwell in. They chose high ground as much as possible so as to avoid big floods. It must be remembered that in those days the river valleys were much more full of water than they are now and the forests also were very dense. Those ancestors have bequeathed a rich civilization second only to the ancient Romans. A few such historical places are mentioned below with a short account that could be available.

Hari Parbat Fort

As tradition has it, Hari Parbat is the pebble which the sparrow goddess threw on the demon who had lived in Satisar. The demon was killed and water gave way to land. Akbar built the Hari Parbat

Fort and the town of Nagar Nagar round it. Muslims later named it Kohe Maran.

Hari Parbat stands on the Dal Lake itself and is located in the centre of the city. Apart from its monumental value it is a symbol of secularism. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs have shrines round it.

Shankaracharya Temple

'The mountainous portal that opens,
Sublime from the Valley of bliss to the world'.

The Temple on the top of Shankaracharya Hill* once called Gopadri is supposed to have been built by Sandiman 2629-2564 B.C. and later on repaired by Gopaditya 426-365 B.C. and Lalitaditya 699-736 A.D. According to another authority Jaloka built it in 220 B.C. Some assign to it the date 300 B.C., but this is generally considered inaccurate. Others mention the year 300 A.D. as the probable date of its construction. Tradition says that the Lingam was placed inside the temple by a goldsmith named Raja Hishti in the year 54 of the Hindu era.

An inscription quotes the name of Khwaja Rokm, son of Mirjan, in connection with its origin. Sikandar, The Iconoclast, did not raze it to the ground because he thought (erroneously) that Mahmud Ghazni might have read prayers in it. The temple commands a fine view of the city that lies prostrate at its foot. Even in such a land of precious stones of architecture the Shankaracharya remains a gem of the first water.

The Pari Mahal (Kash-i-Mah)

This is the 'fairy palace'. Tradition has it that Prince Dara Shikoh designed it for his tutor Mulla Shah and named it after his wife Pari Begum. Another authority says that it was once used for astronomical observations by the Moghul Kings. It stands on an isolated crag and with almost perpendicular sides towards the top. The Pari Mahal has stood for centuries, weather-worn, sad, alone and untenanted which proves that the *Paries* (fairies) have it in their possession but where are they?

Look on its broken arch! Its ruined wall!
Its chambers desolate and portals foul:
Yes this was once Ambition's fairy hall
The Dome of thought, the Palace of Soul.

—LORD BYRON

*Muslims named it Takhte Suleman. Suleman was the son of King David and Queen Sheba who sat on the royal throne of Ethiopia in 980 B.C. Suleman is the Kashmiri version of Solomon.

How he came to be associated with Kashmir about one thousand years before Christ is a subject for research.

The massive building has a domed ceiling. The retaining wall is ornamented with a series of arches.

The Temple of Payech

The sloping knoll on which it stands, the cool shade of a clump of walnut trees close by, the glimpses of a village seen through the trees behind and cheerful brook running at the foot of the slope, form a charming setting to a building which would be dwarfed by a scenery of a grander scale. The temple built of ten stones only, now in ruins, seems to be of long standing. Archaeologists do not definitely estimate its exact date. And who built it that also is not exactly known?

The Temple of Pandretham

This temple has one of the largest moats. Cunningham says that it was probably built in 921 A.D. by Meru during the reign of King Partha. Round it once spread the old capital of Kashmir when none but the Aryans lived here. It was also once Asoka's Srinagar. The domed roof of the temple is a fine piece of sculpture. There are series of arches in the retaining wall.

Avantipura

The archaeologists are of opinion that the temples 174' x 148' here were built in the 9th century by King Avantivarman who had his capital 18 miles away from present Srinagar. The balconies alternate angular and rounded fluting set off the natural contrasts of massive stones of which they are built. Nothing sadder or more beautiful exists in India than this deserted city, the silent witness of a vanished dream. It still stands with its long circuit, its bastioned gates, its wonderful palaces, peerless in the whole Hindustan for its noble design and delicate adornment. Its carvings stand as they stood in Avantivarman's time but now a body without a soul. Ruinate it has remained ever since, desolate and abandoned. No later ruler of Kashmir has even aspired to dwell in Avantivarman's Versailles. The two temples known as Avanti Swamin and Avanti Sura were dedicated to Vishnu and Shiva.

Sumbal

About one mile from the bridge over the Jhelum on the left bank is Andarkoth, the former capital of Jayapida, the grandson of Lalitaditya. Kuta Rani, the last Hindu Queen of Kashmir, is said to have committed suicide here (1339 A.D.).

The Temple of Martand

The date of this temple is favoured to be 8th century by some Archaeologists. Cunningham places its date between 370-500 A.D. But Ferguson does not admit its foundation before the 8th Century. Roughly speaking it is between 2,000 and 1,500 years old. The temple

of Martand appears to be the ruins of a grand old temple 63 feet long enclosed in a quadrangle of columns and arches forming cloisters all round it. It is about 200 feet long and 142 feet broad. There are about 84 carved pillars many of which lie prostrate on the ground. Martand with its beauty in desolation has stirred the Poet's vision of a Heber and compelled the homage of the wisest critics of Indian art. It is a dream in stones designed by Titans and finished by Jewellers. It only needed a glass case. Its architecture is fairer than the site of the Parthenon, or of the Taj or of St Peter, or of the Escorial. This temple with a mighty tradition behind it is now the lonely watcher on the mountain side. It alone had the strength to stand a huge blazing fire that could burn cities. The temple exists still but its designer and destroyer are no more. Certainly it is not less imposing than Persepolis.

Pattan

There are ruins of two very fine temples attributed to King Shankaravarman 883-902 A.D. and his queen Sugandha who flourished in the 9th century.

Ruins at Wangat

'These are of steep wilderness whose airy sides
With thickets overgrown, grotesque and wild,
Access denied, and overhead up grew,
Inseparable height of loftiest shade, cedar, pine and fir'.

Distance lends enchantment to this place—an enchantment which baffles the novelist. Nothing precisely can be said as to the date of its origin or its founder.

Bijbihara

A high and isolated *Kareva* lies at a couple of miles from Bijbihara. Here is visible the site of one of the oldest and most famous temples of Kashmir which was occupied by crowds of refugees and soldiers during the civil war of king Sussala's time. The wooden ramparts were set on fire by the besiegers from which ensued a terrible holocaust. This sacred place gets its name from the temple of Shivavijayeshwara. A bridge over the Jhelum was in existence here in the 16th century. A fine grove of chinar trees, the remains of a garden planted by the unfortunate prince Darashikoh, is still visible on each bank of the river.

Shah-e-Hamdan

Kutab-ud-Din demolished the temple of Kaleshwari and built the present Shah-e-Hamdan mosque (after Syed Ali Hamadani who came from Hamdan in Persia towards the end of the fourteenth century and converted a large section of the people to Islam) with its material. Hasan Shah and Barkat Ali rebuilt the mosque in 1479 A.D. and 1731



Hari Parbat fort and River Jhelum



Shaunkaracharya Temple



Amar Nath Cave

A.D. respectively. A spring dedicated to Kali is still believed to exist inside the mosque. The reputed walking stick of Christ kept in this mosque is exhibited on rare occasions. The hall is 63'×43'. Shah Hamdan's death is given as 786 Hijri, corresponding to 1384 A.D.

Pathar Masjid

Nur Jahan built this mosque for offering prayers in it. The Sunnis had abandoned it since because she belonged to Shia sect. It remained under the State control and was restored back to the Muslims in 1931.

Jamia Masjid

Sikandar 1390-1415 A.D. demolished the temple built by Taradeva 693-697 A.D. and out of its material he constructed a huge mosque now known as Jamia Masjid. It was first built in 1404 A.D. and afterwards rebuilt in the year 1479, 1619, 1674, 1841 and 1912 A.D.

Hazrat Bal

The 17th century old Zairat at Hazratbal* on the Dal Lake is visited by thousands of Muslims on Fridays. In 1969 Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah under took rebuilding of the mosque on Madina model flat roof, dome and ■ minaret at an estimated cost of Rs ten lakhs. People offered donations freely. The outer facade will be white Rajasthani marble. It is here that the famous feast of roses is celebrated every spring.

Badshah Dome

Inside the dome there is a grave sheltering of the mother of Zain-ul-Abdin (1421-1472 A.D.). The plinth of the dome is the plinth of an old temple.

Harwan

A temple and some tablets have been unearthed during recent excavations at Harwan which look like the oldest mountain monuments

*How Christ's hair exhibited on rare occasions came here is a matter for research. Tradition has it that Christ was buried at Rozabal, Khanyar.

According to one account Jesus Christ fainted on the cross, was revived and emigrated from Palestine to Kashmir. Jesus swooned on the cross and was removed alive by Joseph of Arimathea. He later showed himself to disciples to prove he was alive, then went to India to preach to the 'other sheep' not of his flock.

'These "other sheep" were the inhabitants of Kashmir who trace their descent from the lost tribes of Israel which did not return to Palestine after the captivity in Babylon'.

Jesus' burial place is called the Tomb of Yuzassif the Prophet.

Actually it is Prophet Mohammad's hair that is enshrined in the Ziarat. For a detailed account see text.

as belonging to the Kushan period when Kashmir was closely connected with Central Asia. Nagarjuna, the philosopher, held Buddhist congregations here.

Tapar

Archaeological finds were discovered at Tapar in 1942 revealing a temple 62' x 10' built by Partapaditiya of the Karkuta dynasty. Certain inscriptions lead to the finding that repairs were made by a Brahmin named Gogga whose father Jagaraja lived in the reign of Pamanda, Jayasinha's sons in (1157 A.D.).

Narasimha Temple at Devasar

This temple has a basement 30' square and nearly 3' high. The portico is 15' x 11'. It looks having been built in the 12th Century.

Kshema Gourishwara

Kshema Gupta 850-858 A.D. is stated to have built this temple.

Didha Matha

It is now the tomb of Malik Sahib. The queen of Kshema Gupta built a temple here.

Narparistan

The edifice at Narparistan is attributed to Lahna Narendraditya 178-191 A.D.

Mahashri

It is now a graveyard. Pravarsena II is supposed to have built temple here.

Skandabhawan

It was probably built by Skanda Gupta, Minister of Yudhisthra II —139-178 A.D.

Lokhrigar

The shrine at Lokhrigar is attributed to Pravarsena II.

Sadahawashri

It is now the Ziarat of Pir Haji Mohammad. Pravarsena II is supposed to have built a temple here.

Rameshwara

Rameshwara now the Ziarat of Madin Sahib is ascribed to Ranaditya 414-474 A.D.

Amritabhawana

The shrine is attributed to Amritaprabha, Queen of Meghvahana 22 B.C.

Vikrameshwara

This holy place is attributed to Vikramaditya 521-553 A.D.

Bandi

The temple at Bandi belongs either to the Hindus or to the Buddhists. It was built in about 700 A.D.

Bhunyar

The temple at Bhunyar dedicated to the goddess Bhawani was built probably in the fifth century.

Fatehgarh

The temple at Fatehgarh is of long standing. Maharaja Ranjit Singh built his Fort here.

Temples at Shri Narayantha, built by Narendraprabha, Queen of Prattapaditya II (634-684 A.D.), Tribhavana Swami built by Chandrapida (684-693 A.D.), Vikrameswara near Vicharnag built by Vikramaditya (521-563 A.D.), Vishnu Ranaswamin built by the Queen of Rana-ditya, Sabhava Shri Pravarsena II, Khrew (Pampur) built by Padma, Ladhnu, Kuil, Payar built by Narendraditya (483-490 A.D.), Naristhan Lokbhavan built by Lalitaditya (699-736 A.D.), Bumzu, Mamal, Sangam near Amburhar built by Queen Suryamati (1028-86 A.D.), Thiun Rarannag built by Jaluka (1394-34 B.C.), Narendraditya (308-273 B.C.) and Lalitaditya, Andarkot built by Jayapida (753-84 A.D.). Mosques or Ziarats (1) Ali Masjid built by Ali Shah, brother of Zain-ul-Abdin in 1397 A.D. (2) Akhun Mullah Shah (3) Hassanabad built by Shias in the time of Akbar (4) Pantachuk built by Hubba Khatun, wife of Yusuf Chak (1578-1584 A.D.) deserve only a brief notice.

KASHMIR IN THE EYES OF FOREIGNERS

'You have no doubt discovered before this time that I am charmed with Kashmir. In truth, the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my imagination had anticipated. It is probably unequalled by any country of the same extent, and should be as in former ages, the seat of sovereign authority, extending its dominion over all the circumjacent mountains even as far as Tartary and over the whole of Hindustan, to the Island of Ceylon. It is not indeed without reason that the Moghuls call Kashmir the terrestrial paradise of the Indies, or that Akbar was so unremitting in his efforts to wrest the sceptre from the hands of its native princes'—BERNIER.

'Abdullah Khan invaded and occupied Kashmir in 1747 A.D. He introduced a queer and irksome administration. There arose a great hue and cry among the people against his illegal exactions, his high-handed measures and the deceit and pillage which were practised under his rule. Treasure and secreted wealth of gold and silver, stores of carpets and silver and golden articles, which the Moghuls had maintained in the country, were taken possession by him for his personal use. He exacted heavy fines and indemnities from the big merchants and respectable gentry of the country. Once some of his minions branded a leading person of the country with red-hot sword. Unable to bear the torture, this man succumbed to his injuries. Abdullah Khan richly rewarded the perpetrators of this cruelty. Quazi Khan, another respectable citizen, was forced to pay a fine of one lakh of rupees and yet his son was subjected to inhuman harassment. Unable to stand this brutality, the young man sought escape in suicide and jumping from the Zainakadal bridge, drowned himself in the River Jhelum.

'After Amir Khan, Haji Karimdad Khan Bamzai came at the head of the Government of Kashmir in 1776. He appointed Mir Fazil Kant in charge of revenue and administrative work. After a few months he accused Kant of neglecting the collection of revenue and ordered his execution. Along with this all the members of the Kant tribe were destroyed. Karimdad Khan also got displeased with Tarjuli Khan and got him executed too. A rope was tied to his feet and he was kept suspended by the feet under the Habakadal bridge till he died.

'Throughout the reign of Karimdad Khan the entire country remained plunged in absolute misery and fear. During this period everybody, high or low, rich or poor, was fleeced for all he possessed. He ruined the chastity of a thousand girls of both Hindu and Muslim communities and thus ruined their lives for ever. He exacted such heavy taxes and duties from Mansabdars and Jagirdars, as exceeded by far the value of their possession. All these people were reduced

to utter penury. Many of them chose to dispose of their possessions and migrate from the country. He appointed the most heartless people to collect taxes from the people. Heavy fruit tax was imposed on zamindars. Since they could not meet this heavy demand, they cut down their fruit trees and sold the wood to meet the demand of the Government. In this way all the beautiful gardens in the city and rural areas, and particularly those which had been planted by the Moghuls around the Dal Lake, were denuded of all fruit trees. The lambardars and nobility were reduced to dust by the heavy exactions made from them by the Subedar. It is said that one of the tax collectors named, Aslam Harkara, was blind in both eyes, and so he used to go in a Palki from place to place to collect taxes. He treated the people most cruelly. People were reduced to such destitution that robbed of their hearths and homes, they had to lie on the bare ground under the open sky—HASSAN

'At this time no less than 20,00,000 rupees are extracted by the Afghan Governor who, if his tribute be not regularly remitted to Court, is allowed to execute with impunity every act of violence. This extreme rigour has sensibly affected the department and manners of the Kashmirians who shrink with dread from the Afghan oppression and are fearful of making any display of opulence.

During my stay in Kashmir, I often witnessed the harsh treatment which the common people received at the hands of their masters who rarely issued an order without a blow of the side of their hatchet, common weapon of the Afghans, and used by them in war as a battle-axe'.

—FORSTER (1783)

'As we advanced, Surat Singh was assailed by many clamorous appeals from the crowd and hands were stretched out, and cries addressed to us, praying for our interference to save the inhabitants from starvation. An order, it appeared, had recently emanated from Raja Ranjit Singh prohibiting the sale of any of this year's crop of rice, until a deficit of 5 lakhs (500,000 rupees) in the revenue of the preceding year had been discharged'.

—MOORECROFT

Elsewhere Moorecroft writes:

'Everywhere the people are in the most abject condition, exorbitantly taxed by the Sikh Government and subjected to every kind of extortion and oppression by its officers. The consequences of this system are the gradual depopulation of the country; not more than one-sixteenth of the cultivable soil is in cultivation, and the inhabitants starving at home, are driven in great numbers to the plains of Hindustan. In like manner the people of this city are rapidly thinning though less from

emigration than poverty and disease; the prevalence of the latter in its most aggravated form being fearfully extensive.'

'I will give a singular instance of the effect of Sikh oppression. A model in deodar of a Kashmirian mosque was being made under my own superintendence, and which I contrived to bring safely to England. It was with the greatest difficulty that I could persuade the man who was making it to come to me; and when he did come, he would make the most unaccountable mistakes in the simplest matters such, for instance, as not cutting the pillars of equal length. The Sikh *Sepahi* whom I sent to fetch him would make him give a few half-pence, for the honour of being called by him—would beat him if he did not come immediately and beat him afterwards if he complained to me; and the reasons why he would not come were, first because he knew that what I paid him or at least a great part of it would probably be taken from him and what was worse, that having proved himself clever enough to satisfy an Englishman that he was an adept in his profession, he would ever afterwards be made to work by the Governor of little or perhaps no pay at all'.

—VIGNE (1842)

'I continued to pursue my way on foot and alone my people having stayed to rest a little. I met a Kashmirian driving a fellow countryman before him. The poor fellow stopped every now and then and, in a pitiful tone, besought the other's compassion, but his entreaties were only answered by blows. I inquired what was the cause of the quarrel, but could not make out what they said; however, when Mirza Ahmad joined me, I learnt that the suppliant was a thief; the other, the owner of the stolen goods who had just apprehended him. The truth being known, the delinquent waited very humbly to hear what punishment I should decree. Meanwhile, some Sikh soldiers over-took us; the effect was instantaneous; the aggrieved party now stoutly maintained that he had nothing to complain of, the thief put his arms within that of his accuser, and in the amicable manner they hastily walked together. Mirza Ahmad complained to me that a Kashmirian would put up with any wrong rather than seek redress from his Sikh master as he is invariably obliged to pay the judge high price for his decision without the slightest prospect of recovering his lost property'.

—CHARLES HUGEL (1845)

'Under the present system, when the grain has been trodden out, a division takes place between the farmer and the Government, formerly this was an equal one, but the Government had advanced in its demands till it now requires seven-eighths of the produce of the land near the city and three-fourths of the more remote crops. The straw belongs to the cultivator, and he continues to bribe the watchman or overseer to let him steal his own produce. He is allowed to keep cattle on the mountains during the summer, may cut wood, and bring it into the city for sale, and may also sell wildgreens, butter and milk. It would

appear from the above that the farmer is not too well off; but the case is aggravated by the method employed in disposing of the Government share. This is sent into the market, a high price put upon it, no one is permitted to offer his produce at a lower rate, or sometimes even to dispose of it at all until all the public corn is sold'.

—MRS. MURRAY AYNALAY (1878)

'I will illustrate the manner in which the people are ground down in Kashmir by the heads of villages or others invested with a friend who was in that country a year or two before our visit. He wished to give new pugrees (or turbans) of a particular colour to the boat people who were regularly in his employ in order that he might recognise them at a distance. But these men all prayed him not to insist upon this, but if he was satisfied with it, to give them a little money instead as after he had left, the official seeing them with any good new clothes would say 'Oh' the Sahib has been very good to them, and no doubt has given them lots of presents, insist on obtaining from them all they could of their hard-earned summer wages on the strength of this, and thus squeeze them more than they otherwise would have done'.

— *Ibid*

'The power enjoyed by the officials under system of *mujwaza*, in virtue of which they could deprive a village of its year's food stocks was great, but not so great as the power wielded by them in the levy of *begar* or forced labour. A man could sometimes hide his grain in secret pits (*zazu*) and could save enough food to keep him and his children alive till the fruits and vegetables came, but it was more difficult to hide himself when the officials were on the lookout for human carriage and the Kashmir press-gang would watch and wait if a reluctant villager fled to the mountains. *Begar* means to the Kashmiri far more than the mere impressment of labour: for under its comprehensive name every kind of demand for labour or property taken but not paid for by the officials was included'.

—SIR WALTER LAWRENCE (1887).

'Gilgit to the Kashmiri is a constant terror, and when it was rumoured that transport was wanted to convey the baggage of the troops going to or coming from Gilgit there was a general stampede among the villagers. I have seen whole villages bivouacking on the mountains when the agents for the collection of transport arrived in their Tehsil and I have seen inhuman punishment dealt out to men who demurred to leave their homes for two or three months with the prospect of death from cold or starvation. I have seen villagers maimed from frostbite or shrivelled and paralysed from exposure to cold, and it is no marvel that the Kashmiris should loathe the very name of Gilgit'.—*Ibid*.

'In May 1888, I was on cholera duty at Islamabad. Just as the epidemic was reaching its height and hundreds were dying every day in all the districts around, a levy of 5,000 or more coolies was called for. The villagers were almost distracted with fear. Who would do all their agricultural work? What would happen during their long absence to their wives and children? To what perils of pestilence and inclemency of weather would they be exposed in the crowded bivouacs and snowy passes of that dreaded Gilgit district? I was present at a sort of farewell service on a maidan outside Islamabad, when nearly 1,000 men were starting, and when they took leave of the friends who had accompanied them so far, loud was the sobbing of some; fervid the demeanour of all as, led by the Mullah, they intoned their prayers and chanted some of their special penitential psalms. Braver men might well have been agitated at such a time. It is certain that cholera clung to the camp and that the unburied corpses of hundreds of these poor *begaris* marked the whole line of march from Srinagar to Bunji'.

—DR A. NEVE

'One can tell that this is a sad people who have borne centuries with grief, who have learned to bend their heads to the storm, and have grown twisted and crooked in the process; yet in whose hearts there survives a perception of the purpose of God, and an increasing desire to rise once more into the sunlight of noblemen . . .'

'Alas! if the record of Kashmir be read aright, it is a moving tale of human sins; and there are not many races in the world upon whom the hand of fate has been laid so heavily as upon those who inhabit this, perhaps the fairest corner of the earth'.

'Kashmir in truth has paid the price of beauty, that "fatal gift" of which the poets have sung from early times, and she has paid it a hundred fold. Those who have lived here have fallen under her caprices as men fell of old under the wiles of Circe: and those without born under a ruder heaven, have coveted her joys with a fierce desire and have seized upon her treasures with unstinted hand. It is under the stress of such events that the character of her people has been evolved and it is a character that is not noble or beautiful, though deserving of sympathy and help from those who have had a happier destiny. There have been times when the life of a man in this land has little more value than the life of a dog . . . Neither their lives nor their property nor their honour has been left to this unfortunate people in the past'.

'It is only of late within the present generation and within the past few years, that the clouds have lifted and they have begun to raise their heads from the duty of centuries of oppression; and though they know that this change has really come and is likely to stay, they cannot yet in their hearts believe in its duration. Children of light and of a land beautiful beyond dreams of ordinary men a profound sadness is visible in the workings of their spirit; and a great fear still lingers in the hearts. This fear is extraordinary in its manifestations; it assails

men of gigantic frame and energy, and I have myself wondered to see such a one traceable all over his body (as a thoroughbred hunter may be seen quivering by the covert side when hounds are at work on a winter's morning: but with how different an emotion) at the sound of an angry voice. Such a fear and such memories of necessity provoke qualities of character and temperament upon which those whose past has been happier are prone to look down in anger and a measureless contempt. But even in these respects a marked difference is visible even to a careless eye, between the people of the field and hamlets and those of the city; and between the former in their intercourse with each other, and with those who are of the State, or who come with an air of power and authority into their midst'.

—SCOTT O'CONNOR

'Jammu and Kashmir State is labouring under many disadvantages, with a large Mohammadan population absolutely illiterate, labouring under poverty and very low economic conditions of living in the villages and practically governed like dumb driven cattle. There is no touch between the Government and the people, no suitable opportunity for representing grievances, and the administrative machinery itself requires over-hauling from top to bottom to bring it up to the modern conditions of efficiency. It has at present little or no sympathy with the people's wants and grievances'.

—SIR ALBION BANNERJEE

'The peasants are sunk in unimaginable poverty. Their mud huts contain hardly a trace of visible property, save a few pots and water jars. When I put my questions in a typical village, every household was in debt, and the usual rate of interest was 48 per cent. If a peasant owns his holdings, it is rarely big enough to feed his family throughout the year, and he makes up the deficiency by trekking as a seasonal labourer across the mountains to the Punjab. He has no land, he works as a share-cropper and pays the owner by way of rent, one half of all his produce. His wooden plough dates from the dark ages and his cattle, if he has any, are of such miserable breeds that they are hardly worth the trouble milking. Worse than this, much of the land is held under feudal tenure by great landlords, known as Jagirdars who draw their tribute from the cultivators, as a reward for some service rendered to the Maharaja or his ancestors. Most of them are absentees and the worst of them are above the law. The peasants, taxed to the limit of their endurance and subject to an administration that is corrupt from top to bottom, are voteless, unorganised and helpless in their ignorance. In the village where I made my enquiries not a single child went to school. Their undernourishment was obvious at a glance and the women complained of the total lack of medical care'.

—H. M. BRAILSFORD

'From across of boats on the lake, voices were shouting in chorus in their own language "Quit Kashmir"'. From crowded roads on shore, other voices echoed the slogan. It was addressed to the Maharaja, one of the biggest of the Indian States. His subjects were dispersing after one of the most memorable meetings ever held in Kashmir. The scene of it was a courtyard of an ancient mosque, some miles from Srinagar which is a famous shrine because it cherishes a hair of the prophet's beard'.

'Sheikh Abdullah based his case on one of the most iniquitous records of the East India Company. A hundred years ago, it sold Kashmir and its people to the ruler of the neighbouring State of Jammu. This transaction is recorded in the Treaty of Amritsar which required from Maharaja Gulab Singh a payment of cash equivalent to about £ 4,00,000 and a token tribute annually of one horse, twelve goats (six male and six female) and three pairs of Kashmiri shawls. In return for this sum he and his heirs have ruled as autocrats down to the present day'.

'Here was a tempting theme which a tame speaker could have spoiled and Sheikh Abdullah is a brilliant and magnetic orator. He drew the logical conclusion and called for the cancellation of the Treaty. The real significance of his speech lay in its revolutionary implications, its denial of the Maharaja's right to rule. It was a demand for clean break with past. Like every Indian democrat Sheikh Abdullah is bent on securing responsible Government and adult suffrage, but he meant more than this when he challenged the dynasty. His real aim is to sweep away the feudal system which has made of this lovely valley one of the most backward and benighted regions of India'.

—*Ibid*

'As a climax to the Kashmir revolt, Sheikh Abdullah has been brought to trial here, accused of sedition because he demanded that Maharaja Sir Hari Singh should quit'.

'A plane is always available should Kashmir's ruler be compelled to quit—and he is only one of a number of princes who have planes ready to take to the air if the political atmosphere on the ground becomes too hot'.

'With more wealth outside Kashmir than in it and tidy fortunes tucked away in London and elsewhere, even if driven to quit the Maharaja and his successors need not be haunted by the fear of destitution or even the necessity to work. Over the entrance of Jhelum power works, the Maharaja has an inscription reading: "There is dignity in labour and work is worship". In that sense the ruler cannot be said to be over keen on worship'.

'Largely because the labour of so many of his subjects lacks the dignity of a just reward, revolt is simmering in Kashmir. In all probability an All-India decision on State rule, on the principle of responsible Government under constitutional monarchies, will be reached but

the princes will be expected to devote their energies to their constitutional duties'.

'What is decided for all States we shall have no option but to put into operation here', Kashmir's Prime Minister Rai Bahadur Ram Chandra Kak told me.

'Sheikh Abdullah, 6 ft. 4 ins. personality, once a teacher and now Nehru's Vice-President of the All-India States' People's Conference and leader of the National Movement in the State of Jammu and Kashmir leapt impatiently ahead of national policy and demanded "Quit Kashmir". He was arrested on the way to Delhi to see Nehru before his policy had been endorsed or any plan to enforce it had been organised'.

'Kashmir is advanced in some respects and backward in others. The literacy rate is only seven per cent'.

'He outlined a five-year plan on co-operative principles but the co-operation expected of the community in the irrigation scheme was the provision of unskilled labour free'.

'Kashmir is rich not only in unmatched natural resources—timber, water, power, silk, wool, fruit, fish, cattle, a productive soil in the valleys and mineral and chemical deposits in hills but also in the inborn artistic genius and skill of craftsmanship of its people. No-where in the world is more exquisite woodwork, embroidery, papier mâché, brass and copper work produced, the whole process of design, execution and sale being the work of the same man'.

'With sources such as these Kashmir should be one of the most prosperous and contented provinces in the world and its craftsmen the most highly paid. Yet nowhere in this land of abject destitution side by side with excessive riches is contrast more shocking than here'.

—NORMAN CLIFF

'Kashmir has become accustomed to political and economic upheavals. The eruption that is now shaking the State to its foundations and will reshape it with new contours and different horizons is the passion for education that is exploding in all directions'.

'Not even the remotest village remains unaffected and as the lava of learning spreads to the farthest corners a great awakening can be foreseen, with transforming effects. The bursting clouds that submerge the rice fields in floods present problems that are difficult enough, but not nearly so embarrassing or so permanent as that of the popular clamour for schools, and more schools, teachers and text books. The fathers and mothers of Jammu and Kashmir, who have had the minimum of chances themselves, are insisting on the maximum of opportunities for their children and young Kashmir is stretching out eager hands for the fruits of knowledge'.

'The responsibility thus thrust upon the leaders of the State is immense and they would be the first to admit that the fires that are now leaping into flame were kindled by their former colleagues. Their

response to the popular demand is wholehearted, but necessarily limited by the extent of resources. The expenditure on education has jumped from Rs 37 lakhs six years ago to Rs 72 lakhs last year, and the ceiling is still far off.

'Thousands of children are still deprived of these opportunities, of course, and are compelled to strain their young bodies in rural labour or to ruin their health and eyesight in dim and over-crowded workshops with tuberculosis as the reward for their inherited skill. But the benefits of literacy are not the sole prerogative of the lads in grey shirts and shorts and the girls in white "Shalwars" and green jumpers, troops of whom one encounters in the towns. The thirst for knowledge has reached the mountain tops and penetrated the forests, the shepherds and the nomads now claiming the citizens' right to education. Processions of these sturdy picturesque folk are even on the march to pastures new—tall, black bearded men, heavily ornamented women as hardy as their men folk, wrinkled grannies hugging tiny babies on ponies, and herds of buffaloes, pack-horses, goats and attendant dogs'.

'There are the Gujjars who leave their settlements in Jammu for the heights of Kashmir in summer, and the Bakarwals who are constantly on the move to fresh grazing grounds. These robust people who are strongly independent and whose healthy open-air life seems to keep them free from fanaticism are displaying a lively interest in the affairs of the State and insisting their children shall share the advantage of the future'.

—*Ibid*

'Every aspect of nature is lovely. But one is shocked at the terrible poverty of the people. Beggars abound'.

'I met an educated young man in Srinagar and we began discussing the poverty in Kashmir. The young man said that it was tragic that people live so miserably and the Government could not help them'.

'Let Russia or America have this place and you will see how prosperous we will become. Why can't we hand over this place to either of them and save people from misery', he remarked with anger and despair.

'What about your freedom'?

'What is the use of freedom when hunger and poverty stalk the land', he retorted.

Someone rightly wrote. 'Kashmir produces food, yet its people starve. In the land where finest and softest wools are spun, its people are clad in rags. In a land where precious stones are found, none of its people possess them.'

'Subsidised rice is sold in Kashmir at five annas per seer and that is great relief to the poor. The Bakhshi Government is making headway and the people are feeling more confident about their future'.

'Slowly the Abdullah legend is dying out and the people are increasingly realising that their destiny is safe in Bakhshi's hands'.

'People in Kashmir do not generally use "ghee". They are very fond of oil. Pure ghee is sold at a cheap rate. They are very fond of rice'.

'One thing that struck me was that Srinagar was free from political beggars. I did not see many politicians or traders and contractors shadowing Minister for this favour or that, as they do in Nainital'.

'I was pleasantly surprised to discover, too, that drinking is not popular in Kashmir, despite the cold weather. Kashmiris are not fond of milk either. Most of them like to take curd'.

'There is plenty of fruit, but surprisingly enough Kashmiris are not very fond of it'.

'Srinagar is still suffering due to the past raids. The raiders had damaged the electric power house and since then Srinagar has not been able to restore the former supply of electric current to its citizens'.

'Picnics are very popular in Kashmir and groups of boys and girls, men and women are seen camping near beauty spots. Wooden tiles are very popular with Kashmiris. They look artistic'.

'People of Kashmir are proud of their Chinar tree. Under its branches one finds a sort of cool retreat. It is said that the tree was originally imported from Persia, but now it is more numerous in Kashmir than in Persia'.

'Sadar-i-Riyasat Karan Singh has adjusted himself admirably to the changed circumstances. He lives in a comparatively small palace and is not very fond of pomp and show. On every Sunday he visits some place in Kashmir and studies the people's problems. On Sundays he takes no meat and on Tuesdays he fasts. He is a man of simple habits'.

—P. D. TANDON

CHAPTER XX

CULTURAL HERITAGE

We have already hinted in these pages that Kashmiris possess unique culture. It sprang from Aryans and was influenced during the course of history by Jews, Greeks, Turks, Chinese, Muslims and what not. Writes Arthur Neve 'Ancient India had nothing more worthy of its early civilization than the grand remains of Kashmir'. Says Kalhana 'Kashmiris were called Shestrashilpira, *i.e.*, architects'. Kashmir is a fusion of cultures and languages. The principal cultural divisions of the State are—(a) Dugar (b) Ladakh (c) Baltistan (d) Gilgit or the land of Dards (e) Mirpur-Poonch-Muzaffarabad (f) Valley of Kashmir. About thirteen languages and dialects are spoken in this area, chief being Dogri, Kashmiri, Pahari, Ladakhi and Dardi. The ancient script of Dogri was Takri and of Kashmiri, Sharda. Kashmir shared fame as an important seat of learning and culture with Nalanda and Taxila. Kashmiri literature combines in itself Persian and Sanskrit traditions and Islamic and Hindu philosophies. A Sanskrit inscription on a tomb in the Cemetery of Baha-ud-Din put up during the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah in 1484 indicates that both Sanskrit and Persian were in use. A birch bark document in Sharda and Persian characters pertaining to Sheikh Makhdum Hamza, a Muslim saint of Kashmir, about 500 years old, reflects the Kashmiri's catholicism of outlook.

The earliest specimen of Kashmiri literature is Mahayney Prakash of Rajnakesiti Kanthe. Lala Ded who lived in the 14th century A.D. expressed herself as a link between the classical Sanskrit traditions of the past and the Persian poetic patterns of later period. Munshi Bhawani Dass Kachroo was as great a Persian writer as Mohammad Tabir Gani. Jangnama by Taba Ram Turki stands on the same footing as Shahnama of Firdous. Rajkaul Arzbeg's diary and Rajkak Dhar's farukh have a place in local literature. Persian tales of 'Farhad and Shirin' and 'Yusuf and Zulaikha' did inspire folklore but love-lyrics of 'Bumbru and Lolare', 'Himal and Nagrai' and 'Bulbul and Myna' are very rich synthesis of romantic fancy and legend, purely indigenous. Gulrez of Pir Maqbool Shah Kralwari, Shahnama of Wahab Parey and Sudama Charita of Paramanand are also notable. Among the modern writers are Abdul Ahad Azad, Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor, Ghulam Hassan Arif, Dina Nath Nadim, Noor Mohammad Roshan, Ali Mohammad Lone, Amin Kamil, and Master Zinda Kaul. They do not only inspire but make the language. Lala Ded represents Kashmiri language and religious system of the fourteenth century influenced by Islamic thought and culture. Her spiritual preceptor was Sidh Bey. She became a devout follower of Trika philosophy. Besides she mastered

Shat-chakras. Her poetry denounces rituals and welcomes all castes and creeds. Hindu *sadhus* and *sanyasis* influenced Muslim masses as much as did Muslim sheikhs and *pirs* Hindu masses. The product of this cultural fusion was Nur-ud-Din (Sahajanand) of Tsrar Sharif popularly known as Nund Rishi. Lal Ded and Sheikh Nur-ud-Din were followed by Haba Khatun and Urinimal, famous for *Lol* lyrics. Nearly two centuries after Haba Khatun came Urinimal on the literary scene. There is more of pathos and tragedy in her songs.

The mystic and philosophic note is missing from the modern Kashmiri literature which opens with a fresh and free outlook on national and cultural life. This is represented by Mahjoor and Azad. The latter was inspired by Rasool Mir. He expressed himself against injustice, intolerance and suppression. Side by side Daya Ram Ganjoo and Masterji strike a different note. Asad Ullah Mir, Lachman Bhat Nagam, Nand Lal Ambardar and Abdul Wahab Hajin belong to the early phase of modern Kashmiri poetry. Abdul Sattar Gujri Aasi is a proletarian poet. He was sentenced to three months' imprisonment in 'Quit Kashmir' movement for his poem 'Siasi Qaidi'. Dina Nath Nadim gives a socialistic message. Roshan's *Ashq* and Zutshi's *Vijwav* attracted attention.

Folk tales have their own place in literature. Folk music is traced to tenth century. Chhakri came from Afghanistan about 400 years ago. Soofiana Mausiqi came from Iran and has come down from man to man (unwritten). There are references that music had attained perfection in the time of Jaloka whose queen also danced. 'Zohra Khatun and Haya Band', Gulala Shah, Wazirmal, Lalmaal, Shah Sayar, Sheshman are very well-known. There are also ballads like Sudama-charita, Radha Swoyamvara and Shivalagan. The Kashmiri muse sings through folklore, fresh and chaste. Ruff and Chhakri* are the heritage of Kashmir's dynamic past and spirit of beauty around. Harvest season, wedding season, sowing and long winter nights are occasions of drama and music. Kashmiri music and drama may be traced to books like Sangi taculamani, Swaimatrika and Kutmmabalam. Soofiana kalam (classical) is derived from soofism. The instruments accompanying the music are Saz, Santoor, Sitar and Dholak. Whether it is music or poetry, drama or painting, art or architecture, love or romance, the inspiration comes from Kongposh and Pamposh which dance and sing with moon and stars. 'Cultural cosmopolitanism and cultural synthesis of the Kashmiri literary tradition may be traced to the second century A.D. Kashmiri literature "characteristics" have synthesized almost all cultural and religious traditions of India as manifested by Kashmiri poetry. The synthesis left an impact on contemporary Kashmiri thinking and living where various religious practices were mingled. The literary tradition of Kashmir was best represented in and described by two mythical images which were

*There are also Bacha Nagma, Bandjashna, Tumboknari, Wanawun, Nendagewun—all light music.

generally believed to have found currency in the second to fifth century A.D. One of them particularly reflected the relationship between Kashmir and the rest of the Indian mainland in an image (not statue of Vishnu on a lotus flower). In this particular image India is depicted by the body and Kashmir by the halo. Identical images have been found in the Nilgiris. Among the first notable work on Kashmir is Kalhana's *Rajtarangini*, a factual and unpretentious account of conditions in Kashmir during his time in which the author has explained the reason for ready absorption of cultures and religious traditions in Kashmir when in his references to Buddhism he proclaimed—we are not to argue with Buddhists. We are not to argue with those who differ from us. Roughly in fourteenth century Ismaili philosophy made its appearance in Kashmir following the Muslim invasion. The Kashmiris, according to the chronicler Balakshah, rejoiced in the return of a mystic system to their tradition. It was not till the 13th century, however, that a truly Kashmiri literature arose with the legendary poetess—Lala Arifa. Her poems are still recited in all parts of Kashmir having retained their original freshness and surprisingly enough had retained their original forms despite the fact that they had been recited by professional Muslim minstrels for over 500 years. Some original texts reveal that even archaic forms of expression were retained. Kashmir Advaita Shaivism influenced Ismaili literature in Badakhshan, whether or not Shaiva Manuscripts followed or preceded a Kashmir invasion of the immediate west. Advaita Shaiva texts and Persian Ismaili texts of Badakhshan could provide much material'.

—(NLLA CRAM CROOK)

Under the auspices of the State Academy of Arts and Culture a Kashmiri dictionary in Persian script was attempted claiming larger collection of words than Grierson's which was based on the material collected by Ishwar Kaul, a well known scholar. The first grammar of the Kashmiri language was published in 1886 by Rev. T. R. Wade. History of Kashmiri literature by Abdul Ahad Azad was compiled in three volumes. Translation of 'Nilamatpurana' by Dr Ked Ghai is a valuable contribution. Jagan Nath Sheopuri's and Abdul Aziz's note book on soofiana music will carry forward this type of music which is an off-shoot of Indo-Iranian culture.

MYSTICS OF KASHMIR

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Grata Baba | 6. Lakhman Ji |
| 2. Madrasi Baba | 7. Nand Ram |
| 3. Mathra Devi | 8. Hari Ram |
| 4. Paltu Shah | 9. Lasa Saib |
| 5. Akram Saib | 10. Zaina Machi |

They are guarding the spiritual frontiers of Kashmir.

CHAPTER XXI
MODERN PERIOD (Continued)

Fire broke out in Transport yard towards the close of March which gutted goods worth about 20 lakhs. Fire was overcome after about four hours battle. Arrests which followed indicated subversive action.

Brigadier Gansar Singh resigned from Udhampur Kathua Parliamentary constituency to make room for Dr Karan Singh who filed his nomination paper on 11th April on Congress ticket. Three other candidates filed their nomination papers for the seat, two of whom later withdrew. There was a straight contest in which Dr Karan Singh defeated his only rival by overwhelming majority. The success was due to sentiment for the Dogra ruling family and personal qualities of Dr Karan Singh, and a little for Congress also.

Bhagwan Sahai was appointed Governor of Jammu and Kashmir. He took over on 15th May in spite of provision in the State Constitution that a State Subject only could succeed to the post.

Bifurcation of High Court—two judges at Jammu and two judges at Srinagar with common Chief Justice is under way. Bifurcation of University and A.G's office had set the ball rolling.

1967-68 *per capita* income rose from Rs 188 to Rs 280. Revenue Rs 45.46 crores, expenditure Rs 49.54 crores. Loans and advances Rs 18.07 crores. Capital receipts Rs 21.56 crores.

About 70 houses were gutted in village Crank-Shawan, a village near Sopore on 19th May. In Kashmir a fire in a village means a heavy loss as old houses being Kacha and having straw roofs get engulfed. The state had completed 3,300 miles of roads at the end of the Third Plan. By the end of the Fourth Plan the total road mileage rose to 3,800 in spite of 30 per cent cut in the 1967 financial year.

Mahrishi Maheshyogi laid the foundation stone of 'City of Nations' Meditation Academy on the slope of a hill near Shalimar on 21st May. This unique institution bringing East and West nearer to each other would cost about Rs 10 lakhs. This is a branch of Rishikesh Ashram. The famous Beatles are among the western followers of the Yogi. To start with about 80 disciples would be accommodated for training in meditation in the Academy.

Down below has been set up a college for Shaviya Philosophy. Gupt ganga is already a holy place for Hindus.

By end of May there were about 130 persons under detention out of whom 12 belonged to Political organizations.

Kashmir observed complete hartal on 7th June in sympathy with Arabs who had gone into war with Israil. Educational Institutions also remained closed. The only ugly incident that took place was that

two Churches were set on fire. Biscoe School was stoned and local office of U.N. Observer's Team was attacked besides two jeeps being burnt. 22-megawatt thermal power project at Kalakot built with Yugoslav assistance started in 1963 was commissioned in February '68. It has cost Rs 4.5 crores. It was executed by J and K Minerals Ltd. It will be unaffected by vagaries of weather.

The Chenani hydro-electric project on the Tawi, 60 miles from Jammu, is expected to generate electricity, irrigate land and provide a net work of roads and bridges in the mountainous region of Udhampur. A legacy of 3rd Five Year Plan it is due to be completed by the end of 4th Plan. It is a 12 mile Channel providing a fall of 1200 ft. The diversion weir will cost Rs 125 lakhs. Cost of the project is estimated to be Rs 9 crores. Total length of tunnels is 14,000 ft. The existing hydro-electric capacity will go up from 600 K.W. to 3,000 K.W.

October (1966) Police firing in Jammu resulted in disciplinary action against five officers and heavy compensation to dead and injured both.

Rs 5,62,991 were spent for 22 months of his detention on Abdullah at Kodai Kanal which comes to about Rs 25,500 a month. Abdullah is not a prince but a common man who rose to be a leader of Kashmir. The treatment is a testimony of his social status and yet he is a rebel.

A big fire in Sogam (Handwara) as July stepped in gutted about 150 houses and kothars. Immediate relief was provided and even the army personnel spared one day's rations.

Ayyangar Commission set up to enquire into allegations against Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd. opined in its report in July, that Bakhshi misused his high office from 1947 to 1963 and that he, his family members and relatives pocketed a sum to the tune of 54 lakhs of rupees by unfair means. 'Kashmir Through the Ages' (8th Ed.) stands undisturbed in this finding. Food subsidy for 60 per cent of the population amounted to 8½ crores in 1966 i.e. 33 per cent of the total revenue. Out of about 3.67 crore acres of the State only about 15.98 lakh acres—4.36 per cent is cultivable. The land yield is 31.22 maunds per acre of paddy, 7.12 maunds per acre of wheat and 14.44 maunds per acre of maize, food imports soared from 40,000 tonnes in 1960-61 to 2.69 lakh tonnes in 1965-66. 1.04 lakh tonnes of fertilizers were distributed in 1967. Credit facilities to the tune of Rs 6 crores were made available to farmers.

Mirza Afzal Beg was released from detention at Nishat on 6th July. 'He will not leave Anantnag town nor address a public meeting nor contact the Press'. These conditions were obviously acceptable to him.

The introduction of Kashmiri and Dogri languages as compulsory subjects at the primary stage in selected areas from September '67 was a new experiment. How this experiment would go ahead without

a common approved script remains to be seen. Kashmiri language is not expressive through Persian script. Devnagri script is not acceptable to the common man. Nastaliq script lately evolved was rejected. 50 pilot project centres were also set up for adult education in the State in which education would be imparted in Dogri and Kashmiri. Social education scheme did not gather much moss. There was a move led by Kaushak Bakula that Ladakh would demand separation from Jammu and Kashmir State or be a federal part of it.

Ladakhis seldom die before 80. There is no crime worth the name in Ladakh. Seldom a case of murder is heard. Ladakh has more than half the area of the state of which 7,000 miles are under enemy occupation. The population is 90,000. Only 40,000 acres are under cultivation. The principal crop is barley. 'Gur-Gur' tea made with butter and salt is a great energy food. Literacy in Ladakh is 75 per cent. There are some 3,000 lamas in Ladakh. For 100 years Ladakh remained a colony of Dogra kings.

241 members of Parliament signed a requisition for release of Abdullah from detention. Later there was further addition to the list. But the Government of India was not in favour of his immediate release.

Autumn 1967 gave a fillip to farmers. The price of shali was raised from Rs 25 to Rs 31. The price of this grain was raised to Rs 5 during world war No. 1-1916. During the last 40 years the price went up six times and the price of other commodities also went up 10 times. Incomes, on the other hand, did not rise up in the same proportion.

1967 was also declared International Tourist Year. Kashmir did attract tourists but not to the extent as was expected. Local disturbances were a cause.

General Ayub Khan, President Pakistan, had stated in his autobiography—'Friends, not Masters'—that Abdullah had brought—confederation scheme (of India-Pakistan—Kashmir) from Nehru in 1964 which he rejected outright. Abdullah from his confinement in Delhi released his letter to Ayub Khan (15th Sept.) saying that he conveyed no confederation scheme to him nor had Nehru given him any such scheme. He had gone to Pakistan to persuade Ayub Khan to meet Nehru just to find out a solution at the Conference table. He also made it plain that at no stage could he have given him the impression that Kashmir has inevitably to merge with Pakistan.

There have been inter-communal marriages in Kashmir from time to time. But two marriages flared up since 1947—one during Bakhshi regime and the other during Sadiq regime. Kashmiri Pandits were deeply touched over a minor girl having been abducted by Muslims, converted and married. While Bakhshi succeeded in handing over girl to Pandits, Sadiq allowed law to take its own course. The satyagraha movement launched by Pandits took a serious turn. Five

persons offered for arrest every day, the venue changing day by day. For the first time women also participated making speeches and taking out processions. Lathi charges and tear gas operations were many during the agitation. After 20 years deep sleep the young blood stirred up to high emotion. Satyagraha started on about 10th August and continued upto 3rd September.

Two ugly incidents happened one that even Independence Day was not spared for Police atrocity and second that people were cordoned off at Shitalnath on 25th August, so that none from the mob could escape a blow from police lathi thus making it a miniature Jalianwala Bagh episode. The policy of the Government was not clear but M/S D. P. Dhar and D. N. Koul (Pandits themselves) became targets of popular wrath.

Yet another ugly incident happened on 27th August. Two boys who had received severe injuries on 25th died. When their dead bodies were being carried to the cremation ground a section of the funeral procession was pelted with stones from one quarter, consequently a serious situation flared up again which resulted in some cases of arson, loot and fire. Army was called out, and the whole city of Srinagar which was already under Section 144 partially was declared disturbed and Section 144 was promulgated in full until 29th morning. 28th was Janma Ashtami Day. Jubilation and prayer was converted into fast and mourning. The number of arrested persons rose above 450.

One more person died in the Civil hospital on 28th. Besides three some dead bodies were seen being carried in Army trucks. According to Government version one dead body was discovered in a nallah. In Karan Nagar alone two Muslim shops (fruit and vegetable) and two Hindu shops (medical) and one house were burnt on 27th. Curfew continued upto 4th September. Offices were closed on 29th while schools and colleges remained closed throughout. Hindu-Muslim resentment being there Balraj Madhok's speech at Shitalnath that in the final analysis Muslims in the state belonged to a minority community in India, that Jammu and Kashmir was part of India and that those Muslims who did not want to stay could go to Pakistan—India having already conceded about one-third of the area of the State to Pakistan annoyed the Muslims who burnt his effigies which provoked Jammu.

On Friday and Saturday about 90 per cent of Pandit employees kept away from offices on casual leave.

Y. B. Chavan's (Union Home Minister) visit to the State on 2nd September was a successful trip. He met members of the Action Committee and brought about an amicable settlement. Kashmiri Pandit community who responded to the call of Satyagraha as they had never done before had some grievances. Past 20 years' experience had convinced them that Kashmir was not worth living for them any longer—in trade, in licenses, in scholarships, in admissions to colleges,

in services, and what not, they were being treated as step-children. The Muslim memorandum to Union Home Minister, on the other hand, gave figures showing Pandit representation in services and technical colleges much higher than their population warranted. But discrimination in fresh recruitment and fresh admissions was somewhat apparent and law and order problem was the key note of their uneasiness. While the agitation was suspended, the joint statement issued by the Action Committee and the Home Secretary was not implemented in full which necessitated the Action Committee to send a deputation to Delhi.

But the political situation never came under control, it was sometimes Hindu students and sometimes Muslim students who under one pretext or the other led demonstration in defiance of prohibitory orders. Educational Institutions fared worse. An alleged act of sacrilege in Women's College sparked off mob violence on 3rd October. There was stone throwing by which about 30 Police men were injured. When teargas shells and lathi charge failed firing was resorted to which killed two and injured some. Shops were closed and curfew was imposed. It was observed that National Conference people aimed at a blow to Sadiq Government. Next day two more persons died of injuries. The political situation further deteriorated. Processions were taken out. Some shops were looted and curfew was extended. There were also at least six cases of stabbing, some serious. People collected in Jamia Masjid for a big row which was prevented by Police action. Tourists who had begun pouring in for the International Tourist year left back. It was a grim look on all sides. An inter-University football match at Stadium on 8th October again set the political situation ablaze. An Indian team was attacked by mob with stones, when lathi charge and teargas failed the police opened fire. One person according to official version and four persons according to an unofficial version died on the spot. Curfew which was already in force in parts of the city was extended to the whole city. Many a person received injuries. One day previous to this death occurred to a person who was stabbed along with others. 89 seated sleek Caravelle jet-liner covering distance between Delhi and Srinagar in 70 minutes which was to commence flight from 8th October was put off to 23rd Dec. Marriage ceremonies presented desolate look. The short break in curfew hours raised the prices of essential commodities already too high to an unbearable pitch.

Suspension of 6 papers—two dailies (Martand and Navai Kashmir) and 4 weeklies was ordered as they had incited communalism during the disturbances. Hotel building at Nageen, the foundation stone laying ceremony of which was scheduled on or about 8th October, was also postponed. There were no Dushera celebrations. Curfew during day was withdrawn by 12th October and schools including medical and engineering colleges opened on 14th. Night curfew continued on until 18th Oct. and colleges reopened on 21st Oct.

The Pandit agitation was unparalleled in known history. The Bread Movement stood no comparison. But it scored no runs. The agitation was led by younger generation without experience in political games. Jan Sangh had infiltrated into it. National Conference did not stand on the fence. Plebiscite Front wanted Pandits to go ahead to shake the greatest hurdle so that India might climb down. Political Conference was interested in Ranchi being repeated in Srinagar. The net result was that the Muslims were infuriated. The slogan 'Indian dogs go back' intensified.

Against Govt. of India's 72 crore financial assistance to the State during the last two years (for the entire period it was only 70 crores) and 2 lakh tonnes food-aid (it was only 50,000 tonnes a year) the present picture of the country looked quite grim. For election petitions Tribunal having been superseded by High Court—only one petition was decided so far out of 60 in a house of 75.

1967 record rice crop of 3 crore and 14 lakh maunds envisaged 15,000 tonnes of wheat to Food Corporation of India, reduction in previous year's import of 60,000 tonnes of rice by 10,000 tonnes and reduction in annual food subsidy of Rs 8 crores by about 3 crores.

The Kashmir dispute re-echoed in the U.N. General Assembly at the instance of Pakistan. India told Pakistan in unequivocal terms that talks between India and Pakistan could be held at any level for a peaceful settlement between the two countries, on the assumption that Kashmir was an integral part of India. Earlier there was a cease fire violation in the Uri Sector inflicting some casualties on both sides which was brought to the notice of U.N. observers.

The Panchayats rose to about 1,500.

A relic was unearthed in Kishtwar which bears stone-age markings.

Compensation was granted to the survivors of those killed during recent disturbances to the extent of Rs 5,000. Those who had suffered from arson and loot were also compensated.

Criminal action contemplated against Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd. on the report of Ayyangar commission was not followed up. A Commission of Enquiry consisting of Dr Gajendragadkar, B. Tyabji and Shankar Prasad was appointed in November to report on regional imbalances in the State. The step was a sequel to Kashmiri Pandit agitation.

From November ration prices were enhanced—4 paise per kg. of rice, 2 paise per kg. of flour, and Rs 4 per khirwar i.e. 2 md and 3 srs. Even this nominal rise invited protest. Sugar sold at Rs 1.78 per kg. Rise was due to transport rates having gone up along-with price of shali.

A diesel Power House was put into commission on 22nd November at Bemna near Batmalu. It was built at a cost of 75 lakhs of rupees. It has a capacity of 6 mgwts. but it will release $3\frac{1}{2}$ mgwts in the first phase. The Fourth 5-Year Plan earmarks 29 crores of rupees for power generation.

Cash awards to the extent of Rs 20,000.00 were given to farmers in Anantnag District on 23rd Nov. for best yields of shali. The highest award was Rs 2,500. The awards were to be invested on improvement of lands through fertilisers etc.

Since Regal Talkies changed hands it passed through many ups and downs. After the last mob fire it was rebuilt and yet one of its walls collapsed on 17th Nov. killing two and injuring four. While in early thirties it was the only cinema house there are now as many as seven houses in the city.

Inauguration of direct telephone link between Srinagar, Jammu and Delhi came on 18th Nov. Air Service and Telephone have broken all barriers of distance between Kashmir and the rest of India.

In early twenties the revenue of this state was about 75 lakhs of rupees. In 1967 Pampore saffron fields alone yielded an income of about Rs 5 crores, thus financially hitting up a handful of saffron cultivators. The price of singaras (water nuts) and nadroos went up by about eight times. The price of timber and fruits also went up by about 8-10 times since independence. Imagine a farmer ploughing his land with a transister set fixed to his plough. This was a sight which the author personally witnessed and which indicated the prosperity of the village population when the question of Presidential rule in J & K State came up in Lok Sabha on 30th Nov. on the plea of infiltrators being still at work the Government stated that the State was quite safe in the hands of G. M. Sadiq who was quite patriotic.

Kashmir valley witnessed season's first snowfall on 2nd December, a little earlier but not unusual.

A three-member committee of Union Ministers was appointed to suggest to the State Govt. plans for industrial-development. This committee would also act as liaison between the Centre and the State.

The Centre was informed by the State that foodgrain imports had been reduced by 60 per cent, that within next three years the State would add 60 mgwt of power in addition to 20 mgwt from the Bhakhra grid. This promised setting up of a reyon grade pulp plant, paper plant and watch factory and electronic units.

All restrictions were removed from Shiekh Mohd. Abdullah within the Union territory of Delhi, only he could not address a public meeting nor contact pressmen or foreigners. His associate Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg who was interned within his home town of Anantnag was also set free on 7th December.

Fourth 5-Year Plan saw about 60 per cent rural area covered by co-operative movement.

Even so recently as early Twenties Ladakhis did not know what sugar tasted like. The Postmaster who went there for the first time carried some sugar with him, Ladakhis lined up in a queue to taste a particle of sugar for the first time and it gave them a big surprise.

Today development of Ladakh is going ahead. 25 Kwts of electricity has lighted up Ladakh. This is being increased to 65 Kwts and then to 90 before the next year.

After withdrawal of all restrictions Beg addressed public meeting on 14th and 15th at Mujahid Manzil and Hazratbal. He repeated his demand for plebiscite and appealed to India and Pakistan both to forget the past and find out a solution for Kashmir which would ensure peace for the territory and good neighbourliness between the two.

26 members out of 75 were returned unopposed to State Assembly in 1967 elections.

1000 pilgrims left for Haj pilgrimage in two batches in December. The cost per head came roughly to Rs 2500. Each pilgrim was allowed to carry 25 Kgms of rice with him. One doctor and one welfare officer also accompanied the pilgrims to look after them. They leave Srinagar by special bus and Pathankot by special train to Bombay from where they sail. Srinagar was connected with 17 Indian cities by direct telephone link on 6th Dec.

116 Pakistani agents were arrested out of whom 95 were put in detention and 21 challenged in court.

The last month of the year faced pen down strike by low-paid employees who demanded higher pay and central allowances. The strike was effective and work naturally suffered. Over 25 persons were taken into custody in Jammu and Srinagar.

Death of Ghulam Abbas in 'Occupied Kashmir' removed from the Kashmir Political scene one of the founder members of the Muslim Conference who drifted away from Abdullah when he converted Muslim Conference into National Conference in 1938. After the partition he crossed into the 'Occupied Kashmir' where he led the movement of the State's merger with Pakistan.

Restrictions imposed on Abdullah recently within the Union territory of Delhi were removed on Christmas Day. But he rejected this offer also.

Water oozed out again from Cheshma Shahi spring which had almost dried up. The garden was laid by Shah Jahan and the water of the spring has reputation for good digestion.

Before the year 1967 came to close all persons detained under D.I.R.—Farouq, Kara and others were released. And a fresh turn to the politics of Kashmir was in the offing as new year set in.

Before 1930 Mir Waiz was the sole Muslim leader. With the emergence of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah Mirwaiz was thrown into background. Confused Indian policy in Kashmir since 1947 has brought back into leadership a member of Mirwaiz family—Maulana Farouq who is now a political rival to Abdullah.

The Police registered three cases—2 in Srinagar court and 1 in Jammu court against Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd on the basis of Ayyangar report on 28th December.

1967 is over and 1968 has stepped in. Outstanding events of the year were—Dr Karan Singh's inclusion in the Central Cabinet, direct telephone link between Srinagar, Delhi and other cities. Pandit agitation, communal clashes, bumper crop, student demonstrations, bonfire of churches in sympathy with Arab cause, international tourist season (thwarted by internal turmoil), installation of Sadiq Ministry.

With the coming of the new year (it was 2nd January—Id day) came an announcement from Delhi that all restrictions were removed from Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah. Kashmir became doubly jovial.

There was a big blaze on 4th January which gutted a big Municipal building on Hari Singh High Street. It was a recent construction and the total loss went up to about Rs 50 lakhs.

When only 30 days of Chila Kalan had ended temperature fell to 12 degrees below freezing point. It even snowed when the temperature was 6 or 7 degree below the freezing point. Immediately after his release Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah stated that he would devote himself to bringing about amity between India and Pakistan, that Kashmir tangle would be solved which would satisfy all the three parties India, Pakistan and Kashmir and that he would not allow secular tradition of India to be tarnished. This was interpreted as a deeper game, knowing that Pakistan was irreconcilable over the Kashmir dispute.

1967-68 winter was the severest during the last quarter of a century. The traffic on the highway remained closed for over 40 days. Four labourers were crushed by avalanches. Qazigund to Upper Manda and Ramsu to Ramban were bad spots. Over 5 crore cubic ft. of snow was cleared between Dec. 26 and Feb. 10 over a 110 mile stretch of the road where temperature touched 21° centigrade. Bouldose of ice weighed between 300 and 400 tons. On an average there was 3 ft. snowfall a day. Avalanches piled up 35 to 40 ft. of snow on the road. About 2500 labourers worked daily. High prices and suspension of communications was a great trial for the people.

The goods convoy which left Jammu on 5th Feb. reached Srinagar on 8th March after about a month's trek.

4th Feb. night was the coldest in the whole winter. Due to blocking of the road and freezing of the Dal fish also became scarce. Vegetables almost disappeared and what little was available sold very high. Eggs were not to be seen at all. One egg sold 45 to 50 Paise each. The action against blackmarketeers was somewhat successful. Some shopkeepers were even fined and sentenced by courts. Scarcity of tap water made misery still more grievous. A severe winter may repeat itself. The following suggestions should be taken note of by the administration:

- (a) Government servants in Kashmir valley to be given advance salary for 3 months Dec. to Feb—recovery to be made at 3/4 of pay.
- (b) Fuel ration to be doubled for 3 months Dec. to Feb.
- (c) Rations to be made available in advance for 3 months Dec. to Feb.
- (d) Meat, fruit, eggs and vegetables to be stored in cold storage before Dec.
- (e) Permanent arrangement to be made for removing snow from Banihal to Qazigund.
- (f) Freezing of Dal to be prevented.
- (g) Food Deptt. to import adequate supplies of edible oil, kerosene oil, salt and sugar much in advance.

Before 1947 people in the valley used to dry up vegetables for winter to meet similar emergencies. The practice has been somewhat discontinued. This year's season is a reminder to revive the practice. Besides electric supply should be superfluous, of course not free but rather cheap. In short eleventh hour arrangements cannot restore normalcy.

One Air force plane AN.-12 carrying 98 aboard was reported missing on return flight from Leh on 7th Feb. Probably it was the first such loss on this route. The crash could take place round Rehtang Pass 19,000 ft. high.

The number of Post Offices rose from about 380 in 1947 to about 890 in 1967. The same year also saw direct dialing on telephone line and linking of the State with the rest of the world.

The wages of silk factory labourers went up to Rs 4.33 in Srinagar and Rs 4.11 in Jammu per day as a result of high production and earning by the silk industry.

By this time about 58 per cent of rural area in Kashmir and 26 per cent in Jammu has been covered by co-operative movement. Super-bazars spread to towns.

Yet another dearness allowance was announced to Govt. employee upto Rs 1000 p.m. ranging from Rs 50 p.m. onwards. About 91,000 employees were benefited. Expenditure on this increase amounted to Rs 2 crores and 81 lakhs. The allowance was payable from 1st November, 1967.

Any army convoy of about 164 trucks was on the move on the valley side of the Banihal when heavy snowfall on 24-27 January engulfed it. By 20th of February 13 dead bodies were recovered leaving 31 still untraced. 17 trucks were completely lost in the snow while 4 had been spotted. About $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores c. ft. of snow was cleared to open the road and the labourers worked in 30° centigrade below freezing point. On his arrival by air from Delhi in Srinagar on 4th March. Sh. Mohd. Abdullah was given a rousing reception by the

people. The procession which started at about 3 p.m. from aerodrome ended in Mujahid Manzil at about eleven in the night. The key note of his speeches was Hind-Pak amity. While both of these were playing with the fate of Kashmiris who were at stake and yet none was consulting them. There was also an illumination at night-fall.

Since 1947 particularly after accession Kashmir also exhibited many skilled frauds, embezzlements, misappropriations, preparation of false bills, disappearance of money from chests, fake withdrawals of G.P. Fund and what not. In March, 1968 an ingenious device of looting Govt. came to light. A full P. W. Division was created. Papers from Cabinet sanction to charge report were fabricated. Almost all Treasuries issued cheque books and money amounting to several lakhs was drawn from Treasuries. And all this happened under the very nose of an Accountant General considered to be a feather of Central service. There was an arrest here or there but promotion and up-grading also went up side by side in light of past practice.

Jashne Bahar commenced on 11th April on the advancement of visitor's season. It was a two week programme of music, drama, sport etc. to attract more and more visitors to Kashmir. All tourist centres were given a fresh look. 1967 was a record year for tourism. About 1½ lakh visitors came to Kashmir out of whom over 10,000 were Europeans.

Morarji Desai, Deputy Prime Minister of India, stated in Jammu in the third week of April that people need not take notice of what Sh. Mohd. Abdullah says—he says, what does he say? let him say, what he says. The accession of Jammu and Kashmir with India is final and the accession will last so long as India lasts. Sh. Mohd. Abdullah who after his release toured the whole valley and Muslim majority districts of Jammu had been harping on the tune that the people had yet to take a decision regarding final disposition of the State. His visit to Delhi for a talk with central leaders struck no bargain. He was given a cold shoulder there. It is not a triparty dispute as Sheikh claims but an internal problem according to Indian view.

Heavy hail storm in May hit orchards in Tral, Shopian and Kulgam Districts very badly.

A Kashmiri farmer Ismail of Anantnag District won distinction for highest yield of shali at 46.6 quintals per acre in Kharif crop of 1967. If this is emulated Kashmir has mettle to turn deficit into surplus.

Nilamata Purana which is older than Kalhana's Rajatarangini was rejuvenated in English language for the first time.

Engineering college suddenly featured in the news on the last day of May when different sections of boys clashed with one another. Many a student became victim of stab wounds and a shed of the

college was set on fire. Closure of educational institutions on the following four days was inevitable. One student also succumbed to injuries. Abdullah reprimanded the boys and the trouble did not spread. But he smelt official intrigue behind the incident.

Mahatma Gopi Nath Bhan who left his mortal frame on 29th May was cremated with due honours. Sadhus and Kashmiri Pandits paid their last tribute to him. Mahatma Gopi Nath's penance leaned towards occultism.

A meeting of National Integration Council started in Srinagar on 20th June and lasted three days. No meeting of the Council was held since Chinese aggression. Some central ministers, Chief ministers of States, some members of Parliament and a few prominent people attended. Srinagar witnessed the business week since 1947 in catering, in transport, in marketing, in tourist rush etc. Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah kept away from the city to avoid direct contact. He also declined invitations. If it was a show of expenditure (between 30 to 40 lakhs) the meeting failed to touch the surface.

The judgment of the Supreme Court accepting the petition of Hindu teachers who were superseded by junior Muslim teachers caused a stir. This affected 81 teachers who were reverted. The teachers maintained that Glancy Commission Report supported their backwardness. The Supreme Court did not agree that an overwhelming majority community could be recognised as backward. Division of teaching profession into two compartments was unfortunate. Over 30 years had passed since Glancy Report saw light of the day. Muslims were no longer educationally backward now.

Srinagar and other towns in the valley observed complete hartal on 9th August to commemorate 15th anniversary of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's arrest in 1953. It served as a reminder to India about plebiscite. Both Congress and National Conference became defunct for the day at least. Abdullah and Farouq continue to harp on the tune of plebiscite which does not look in sight.

The Judiciary was formally separated from the Executive in the State on 15th August. This resulted in the establishment of a Munsiff's Court at every Tehsil headquarter.

The bye-election in Safa Kadal and Budgam constituencies posed a serious problem for the Government as all the three—Abdullah, Farouq and Kara made a boycott appeal to the electorate. There was response to the appeal. 5 per cent votes were polled in Safakadal and 40 per cent in Budgam. N. Conference won in the city and N. Congress in Budgam.

Out of a number of election petitions pending before the Tribunal Congress lost many seats. The Speaker (J and K Assembly), G. M. Rajpuri's fall was a great hit to the ruling class.

A skeleton session of fourth world Religious Conference was held adjacent to Hanuman Temple on 15th September. Except Jain

Muni Sushil Kumar Ji Maharaj (the inspirer) and M. Farouq all the remaining speakers claimed quasi-political inclinations and the session had naturally little appeal. The response was also poor which indicated that Kashmir has a political problem rather than a spiritual one to tackle with.

Consequent to the vacancy of the Speaker of the J and K Assembly Shamas-ud-din was proposed by the Ruling party and voted to the Chair. Shamas-ud-din had succeeded Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad as Prime Minister of the State. Circumstances compelled him to step down to make room for G. M. Sadiq. He was paid the price, however!

Loan from the Centre	Rs 88,78,76,392
Grant-in-aid	Rs 17,33,01,368
Statutory grants ending April 1964	Rs 24,50,00,000
1964-68 (ending March) Loans	Rs 84,92,10,313
Grant-in-aid	Rs 36,45,63,360
Statutory grants	Rs 17,14,00,000

Twenty two officers were charge-sheeted by Justice Ayyangar in Bakhshi case.

The number of handloom silk weavers in the State has risen to 1412 plus 41 power-looms in the private sector and 117 handlooms and 124 powerlooms in the public sector. The number of cocoon-rearers has gone down from 47,000 to 28,000 due to growing affluence of farmers.

Backward classes' bill was kept back pending Gajendragadkar Commission report. The bill had annoyed Pandits who would be hit by it. Dussehra celebrations were not held this year lest there might be disturbances of a communal character.

11 Kilometre long motor road was completed between Tangmarg and Gulmarg just before the advent of winter to boost up skating and to terminate pony riding.

The acceptance of resignation tendered by Ghulam Rasool Kar, State Minister, indicated a crisis within Congress and Cabinet.

At a selected audience Mahrishi Mahesh Yogi explained how omniscient God within could be contacted by mind (what he called transcendental meditation) in peace and happiness, a listener rebutted him that contact with Almighty was not such an easy affair. Prophets had explained the truth under inspiration. The occasion was Gandhi Jayanthi, the second and third of October.

With 1/3 of the area in adverse possession the revenue of the State has gone up by 18 times since 1947.

A Law Seminar was held on 5th which was opened by the Chief Justice of India. He congratulated the State for separating judiciary from Executive.

The annual conference of National Institute of Historical studies was held on 7th at the University Campus. It was inaugurated by a non-Kashmiri, it was presided over by a non-Kashmiri, it was sponsored by a non-Kashmiri.

The State's People's Convention started in Srinagar from 10th October. About 267 people participated. A few Pandits, Dogras and Sikhs also took part. Retired Govt. servants were conspicuous. About 40 papers were read. Jai Prakash Narain who inaugurated the conference advised that a solution may be sought out within the Indian Union which would pave way for a dialogue with the Indian Govt. After 1965 conflict Pakistan had lost all title. Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah who presided suggested many a solution from plebiscite to independence. All meeting ground between Jai Prakash and Abdullah was lost. In a resolution the convention reaffirmed the principle that solution of the problem acceptable to the people of the State keeping in view the interests of all regions can alone resolve the dispute and restore normalcy and tranquillity in the sub-continent including Jammu and Kashmir.

Gulmarg was linked up by jeepable road with Srinagar on 1st Nov. (the metalled road was thrown open to traffic by Chief Minister) when the Valley had its first snowfall of the season.

The announcement of D. P. Dhar as India's Ambassador to Russia showed how a person could rise to eminent positions by his own tact and skill. He fought his elections without any particular constituency eager to vote him to any position of distinction. Yet Kashmir was proud of this unique distinction.

1967—284.47 lakh maunds of paddy, wheat and maize 1964—304.30 lakh maunds. This shows that the crash programme was not a success.

Fire at Kupwara on 23rd Oct. gutted about 9 houses and 30 shops in which even Post Office and Police Station were not spared. Over 500 people were provided with tea and meals by army personnel. The daring cashier of the Tehsil saved Rs 25,000 from local treasury. Immediately 4 Kg of rice were distributed free to affected people.

One 'hippie' girl from America was criminally assaulted at Jammu on Dewali day by a Superintendent of Police who was later put on suspension. That a custodian of law and order should himself go wrong put *rul  * by democracy on a trial.

A Pakistani sabotage ring was smashed in early November and among those arrested was Editor Jamait.

The State broke another record by recommending non-graduates and even non-matriculantes to I.A.S. Since the centre sanctioned the State's quota to this top service for direct recruitment impossible was made possible. The list of 38 for this year included such names.

About 15 lakh maunds of fruits were exported in 1968 which brought about ten crores of rupees. This was a record in fruit industry.

A big fire which broke out in Kangan on 9th November gutted about one dozen houses and three dozen shops. Immediately relief was rendered to the fire sufferers by way of free rations and loans etc. That such fires are not accidental is not ruled out. Bandipore, Batmalu etc. inspired modern constructions.

November convoy to Ladakh was overpowered by snow near about Zojila Pass but timely help from army saved it from being converted into a tragedy.

The State broke yet another record in the same year (1968) when auction of 51 compartments by the Forest department yielded an income of about 8 crores and 7 lakhs of rupees.

Gajendragadkar commission's report on regional imbalances which took about a year was out in the first week of December. The report was critical of development works under the plans and recommended their control by the centre. The report also said that hilly tracts of Jammu were not adequately looked into and that Kashmiri Pandits who mainly depended on services would get a set-back with the advance of education unless avenues of employment were created. The report recommended that if the Chief Minister was of one region, the Dy. Chief Minister should be of another region, section 370 of the constitution should be left to the people and Govt. of J and K for erosion, regional bodies should be set up for development etc. Jammu and Kashmir should have equal representation in the Cabinet and that Ladakh should have one Cabinet Minister. The Report also recommended full fledged university for Jammu with Law College, Medical College and Regional Engineering College attached to it. For administrative purposes every Govt. servant should be required to serve for 5 years in Ladakh, Valley and Jammu. Broadly speaking three different units—Valley, Jammu and Ladakh—were in sight at the highest level.

The death of Mirwaiz Maulvi Mohd Usuf Shah at Rawalpindi on 7th December was mourned in the whole valley and there was hartal. Yusuf Shah had succeeded to hereditary religious leadership. Acceptance of Rs 500—Jagir from the Maharaja and hijrat from Kashmir in 1947 when the subcontinent was divided defeated his aspiration to political leadership of the State. M. Farooq was installed as Mirwaiz of Kashmir on 20th December.

The mysterious escape of 3 prisoners from Central Jail (mostly saboteurs) caused no great sensation like disappearance of cash from offices, leakage of university question papers, circulation of bogus university certificates, replacement of service books, theft of office files and so on—all this probably under an inspiration.

About the same time some miscreants felled down electric poles in Idgah area probably to cause fire through high tension power lines. A few wood cutters were rounded up but the real cause remained shrouded in mystery.

The State's public debt stood at Rs 124.66 crores at the end of 1967. Central loan amounted to Rs 110.11 crores. While the revenue rose from Rs 16.12 crores in 1965-66 to Rs 18.57 crores in 1966-67 cost of administration came to Rs 19 crores. Outstandings stood as under:

House rent—Rs 26 lakhs, Forest royalty Rs 9.75 crores, Land Revenue 1.20 crores, Irrigation 0.46 crores, Electricity 0.38 crores, total Rs 12.14 crores on 31.3.67. Octroi duty as revealed by Audit was poor. Quantities actually imported into cities were shown far less and duty also fell proportionately. With all this Central projects for the State rose to 90 crores.

Revenue for 1968-69 was estimated at Rs 49.26 crores and expenditure at Rs 54.56 showing a deficit of Rs 5.34 crores. Total deficit on revenue and capital account was shown as Rs 60 lakhs—capital account Rs 20.69 crores and expenditure Rs 50.99 crores, Revenue and capital account Rs 60.95 crores, expenditure Rs 70.55 crores. Increase in Sales Tax by 1 per cent and in cosmetics, wines etc., by 4 per cent was imposed to adjust budget. Reduction in import of rice from 70,000 tonnes to 60,000 tonnes and then to 1000 tonnes indicated massive effort towards self-help.

While in 1947 the State produced 4 mgts of electricity in 1969 the production rose to 37 mgts.

For the first time in the history of Ladakh 300 tons of vegetables were put into market. Barley only was grown there. Army co-operation and determination of the people made the land yield better crops.

India celebrated Id-ul-Zuha on 28th Feb. while West Pakistan celebrated it on 27th. Kashmir opted for the latter. Kashmir stands acceded to India but the decision regarding celebration of Id is not binding on her. Tongues speak voices and there were many in the air.

7th March—there was complete hartal in the city and small processions were also taken out. Clashes between the Police and the people became inevitable. A press report that foodgrain prices would be increased created the trouble. If the Govt. had not promptly contradicted the report a mob uprising was written on the wall. The Govt. spends Rs 7.20 crores on food subsidy.

The revenue of the State for 1969-70 rose to Rs 58.21 crores and expenditure to Rs 67.41 crores showing a deficit of 9.20 crores.

Resignation by S. Mir Qasim from Presidentship of Pradesh Congress and Assembly membership did not come as a surprise. This was expected since D. P. Dhar was shifted from the political scene. Qasim was followed by Trilochan Dutt who resigned from General Secretaryship. Minus his old stalwarts Sadiq was left on the scene mute and mum. Gajendragadkar Report and the move to transfer evacuee land to refugees in Jammu stirred up the Muslim mind.

Resignations earlier by Karnad Kohistani were indicative of a malaise within the party. Even intervention by Delhi brought about no rapprochement. This at least established the intellectual cleverness of Sadiq who felt growing stronger with the help of Indian guns.

Population has grown so tremendously since 1947 that in spite of enormous increase in food production, average income, building accommodation, transport facility, standard of life, consumers' needs are not adequately met with and diseases have multiplied so much so that doctors and medicines are still in shortage in spite of huge supply. While in 1947 there was hardly any one who did not own a room atleast now about 10 per cent are tenants.

It is not sex stimulation only that is responsible for uprise in population. Previously cholera, small pox, malaria, plague etc. used to take a heavy toll of human life from childhood. Now advancement of medical science has nipped them in the bud. Family planning could educate masses to restrict their families if the State enlists popular support.

The social reform movement which Kashyap Bundhu started in 1932 among Kashmiri Pandit community—nominal dowry, girl's education and change of dress among women from Pheron into Dhoti—was a little success in the start and now about 35 years later has plunged the community into a vicious circle so much so that even educated and self-reliant girls need dowry to back them up. Inter-cast into-communal and inter-racial marriages, even inter-state ones are no exceptions now.

Amar Nath, Khir Bhawani and Hari Parbat continue to be abodes of spiritual attraction to Hindus as Charisharif, Hazratbal, Makhdoom Sahib, and Shah Hamdan do to Muslims and as Chati Badshahi to Sikhs. Before 1947 most of these shrines situated far away from Srinagar had neither electricity nor tap water. Except Amar Nath every shrine is equipped with electricity and tap water and also linked up by ready transport.

There were 2082 ceasefire violations since Tashkent Declaration. But leaders, associations and unofficial goodwill missions to Pakistan went on harping upon Indo-Pak amity. There was no such move from Pakistan side. The Prime Minister of India congratulated Pakistan President on the completion of Mangla Dam, forgetting India's earlier stand on this when the matter was referred to Security Council.

The yield from excise duties, entertainment tax, octroi and road toll went up by about Rs 88 lakhs in 1966-67. The total receipts in 1966-67 were Rs 4.70 crores against Rs 3.82 crores in 1965-66. The income from excise duty alone was about Rs 1.40 crores in 1966-67 against Rs 90.8 lakhs in 1965-66. This indicates growing prosperity of the country, drinking, cinema going, traffic and flow of goods were on the increase.

The Police recovered one light machine gun with a loaded magazine of 28 cartridges, 15 grenades and 250 rounds of ammunition in June from a Gujjar family in Budgam. Nearly 125 spies and saboteurs were detained under D. I. R. War or no war Pakistani headache is likely to continue.

Revenue for 1967-68 was estimated at Rs 46.94 crores and expenditure Rs 52.55 crores. Deficit of Rs 5.61 crores was estimated to be bridged over by sales tax on petrol from 6 to 10 paise and revised electric tariff. The year was expected to close with a cash balance of Rs 2.30 crores. Sales tax on timber was raised by 2 per cent and that on bricks by 3 per cent. Provision was made for remission of land revenue upto Rs 9.

Homeguards in the State numbered 7,000 and Field Service Organisation about 2,000.

Grain production for 1963 to 1965 was 6,000 tonnes (mean). The Centre's allotment went above 60,000 tonnes.

In Twenties a solitary car could be seen plying on the road from dawn to dusk. It now takes about half an hour to cross the road such is the rush of cars, jeeps and buses. Leaving cities alone, the roofs of village houses have changed from straw to corrugated iron atleast by about 40 per cent. Elimination of birch bark from roofs is not sound economy. Clay (earth) could be substituted by planks thus saving huge money. Since imports usurp total earnings the balance left is meagre. Political uncertainty has stood in the way of local production of goods.

The total area under forests in Kashmir is 3280 sq. miles and in Jammu 4580 sq. miles. In 1960-61 output of timber was 180 lakh cubic feet.

Since independence the pay of a constable rose to Rs 65 and now it has risen to Rs 125. Rs 25 lakhs were provided in 1967 for construction of quarters for the Police, 1968-69 Plan budget was 21 crores and 70 lakh rupees.

Since 1947 plans for many an industrial project were drawn up. Some were taken in hand such as watch factory which yielded no result and some ended in mere smoke such as paper factory or rope ways. If rayon pulp plant is set up in Manesbal with Canadian help and electronics plant in Kashmir with the help of Yugoslavia and agriculture, horticulture and sericulture are developed with Japanese help Kashmir could go further ahead but there are many slips between the cup and the lip. An eleventh hour hurdle may crop up that Kashmir tangle remains still unresolved and that will put all schemes in cold storage. When in early twenties the revenue of the State went up from about 75 lakhs to one crore it was considered an upward trend in local economy. Now only 2/3 of the State yields a revenue of over 40 crores. It is not only an upward trend. It is a revolution in local economy.

Excise, Sales Tax, Passenger Tax, Petrol Tax, Octroi and Entertainment Tax alone yielded a revenue of Rs 445.91 lakhs from April to October in 1968 which gives an idea of the growing prosperity of the people.

1967-68 winter was the severest during the last quarter of a century. The traffic on the highway remained closed for over 40 days. Four labourers were crushed by avalanches. Over 5 crore cubic ft. was cleared between Dec. 26 and Feb. 10 over a 100 mile stretch of the road where temperature touched 21° centigrade. Boulder of ice weighed between 300 and 400 tons. On an average there was 3 ft snowfall a day. Avalanches piled up 35 to 40 ft. of snow on the road. About 2500 labourers worked daily. The goods convoy which left Jammu on 5th Feb. reached Srinagar on 8th March after about a month's transport standstill on the only highway between Jammu and Srinagar.

4th Feb. night was the coldest in the whole winter. Due to blocking of the road and freezing of the Dal meat and fish became scarce. Vegetables almost disappeared and what little was available sold very high. Eggs were not to be seen. It sold 45 to 50 paise each. The drive against black marketers was somewhat successful. Some shopkeepers were even fined and sentenced by courts. Scarcity of tap water made misery still more grievous. A severe winter may repeat itself. The following suggestion should be taken note of by the Administration.

- (a) Govt. Servants in Kashmir Valley to be given advance salary for 3 months December to Feb.—recovery to be made at 3/4 of pay.
- (b) Fuel ration to be doubled for 3 months Dec. to Feb.
- (c) Rations to be made available in advance for 3 months Dec. to Feb.
- (d) Meat, fruit, eggs and vegetables to be stored in cold storage before December.
- (e) Permanent arrangement to be made for removing snow from Banihal to Qazigund.
- (f) Freezing of Dal to be prevented.
- (g) Food Department to import adequate supplies of edible oil, kerosene oil, salt and sugar much in advance.

Bye election to five Assembly seats in the last week of April caused some political sensation. The Plebiscite front backed up by Abdullah issued boycott appeal. Jana Sangh set up one candidate in Sopore against odds in the hope that if boycott appeal succeeded they stood a fair chance. Ex-speaker G. M. Rajpuri divorced by Congress

stood as an independent candidate unofficially supported by National Conference. The Central Election Commission was loud for fairness. And some clashes were reported. Rajpuri lost.

April in Kashmir is usually a rainy month. But April this time beat all previous records in cold, rain and snow. The snowfall which was witnessed on 29th was unprecedented. It took a couple of days for the snow to melt. Kangris and charcoal were not abandoned at all. Sopore bye-election was postponed. Trees were uprooted and damage to fruits was heavy. Baramulla District did not suffer so much as did Anantnag District.

Ever since the Regional Engineering College was established here it gave trouble off and on. The Principal, an outsider, ordered national flag to be flown half mast on Dr Zakir Hussain's death. The students protested against this because the national flag was never hoisted in this educational institution. The flag was removed and 48 hour relay hunger strike by students followed. The college was again closed.

Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah who is reconstructing Hazratbal Shrine annexed the public road going to Gulab Bagh and grave yard adjacent to the mosque. The State authority became defunct; rather explored an alternative route.

About 4 villages round Chadura in Budgam Tehsil particularly Loyalpur showed signs of sinking as a result of last month's unprecedented snow and rain. It affected an area of one mile long and a quarter wide and a population of nearly 5000 people. Four years ago the same area suffered from devastation of an earthquake. The Govt. took up evacuation and relief of 1000 persons of Loyalpur immediately in hand.

Having secured no seat and registered no good number of votes in the bye-elections the National Conference declared that she would not participate in future elections unless returning officers were imported from outside. Some beneficiaries of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd. wish him back on the exalted chair but wishes are not horses that one can ride.

April and May rains-in between snow-disturbed the growing economy of Kashmir to a large extent. Flood on 14th May was averted if rains had not slightly subsided. Bitter cold did not permit to bid good-bye to Kangris. Late sowing of main shali crop does not look very prospective. Winter crops were greatly hit. This type of season is not usual. It is not unusual either.

Sopore bye-election was won by a Congress candidate. Out of five, four went to Congress and one to independent.

The rift between two wings of the Congress—Sadiq v/s Qasim—came up on the surface in the second half of May. Sadiq had even threatened resignation but was halted by Central intervention. Pir Gyas-ud-din was the main bone of contention.

Three persons were killed and many injured in police firing when two groups returning from 'Nuful' fell out near Idgah. Muslims demonstrate 'Nuful' in mosques as a prayer for rains to stop. Abdullah also participated in this 'Nuful'. Schools and offices were given half holiday.

At last after years of frustration Plebiscite Front decided to participate in elections due in 1972. This gave a shake-up to other organizations.

Sonam Wangyal was sworn in as Minister of State on 27th. P.C.C. was declared as duly constituted body. On these two counts Sadiq was pulled down.

The State still owes Rs 23.52 crores to the Central Govt. (Loan)—Public debt Rs 124.66 crores. Central loan Rs 110 crores ending March 1967.

The Pandits's agitation led to 123 tear gas firings, 5 stabbing, affrays 15 arson cases and 6 deaths.

(Lok Sabha debate 30.11.1967)

Communists in India are divided into right, left and Naxalites. There is a group in the State also—however small, with all the three wings. They must grow with the passage of time and the day is not far off when Naxalites will make themselves felt.

4th Five Year Plan assured that no village with a population of 500 would go without tap water and that no village would be away from a tap more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile.

Some communal trouble was reported from Saboo Village, Ladakh towards the end of March. It may be politicians had exploited a small incident but since the State Govt. did not permit a Parliamentary delegation to visit Ladakh for a study of the situation, there must have been some substance in the affair.

Trouble in Leh flared up again on June 5 when police fired tear gas shells to disperse crowds who set fire to Dy Commissioner's Office, Sub-judge's Court and a gumpa. Further, Sec. 144 was enforced. Kushap Bakula and Sonam Wangyal's intervention failed to patch up with Buddhist Association of Ladakh.

The Fourth 5-Year Plan budget (Rs 145.10 crores) was distributed as under:

Irrigation and Power Rs 50 crores.

Transport and Communications.

	Rs 2511 lakhs
Agriculture	Rs 27 crores
Road Development	Rs 1856 lakhs
Social Services	Rs 2307 lakhs
(a) General education	Rs 769 lakhs
(b) Technical ,,	Rs 60 lakhs

Tourism	Rs 320 lakhs
Ladakh	Rs 430 "
Hill and border areas	Rs 225 "

Post offices in the State rose to about 900 ending 1968 which speaks of growing prosperity.

Prices-November 1968

	Rs	P.
Egg	0	40
Meat (one Kilogram)	6	00
Fish (Kashmir)	3	50
Firewood (per Md)	4	00
Potato (one Kg)	0	50
Nadru	1	50
One bread (Kashmiri)	0	10
Milk (one Kilo)	1	50
Curd (one Kilo)	1	80
Sugar (one Kilo) (Control price)	1	87
Salt (three Kilos)	1	12
Razmah, Mong etc	2.50 to Rs 3.00	(Kgm)
Edible Oil	6.00	per Kg.

The average health of the people in the State showed great improvement during the last 21 years. The span of life increased from about 30 to 50. Over four crores of rupees were earmarked for medical service in 1968-69. A net work of hospitals, dispensaries, health centres was spread making medical aid accessible to every hamlet.

Progress at a glance

1. *Per capita* income increased from Rs 188.41 in 1950-51 to Rs 259.24 in 1964-65.
2. Average life expectancy increased from 32 years to 50 years between 1951-66.
3. Revenue increased from Rs 274.45 lakhs in 1947-48 to Rs 4,307.77 lakhs in 1966-67.
4. Sixty per cent of children in the age-group of 6-11 were in schools.
5. Percentage of literacy rose from 6.6 in 1947 to 11 per cent.
6. Jammu and Kashmir University is a full-fledged teaching institution now, conducting 21 post-graduate departments.

7. *Per capita* expenditure on Public Health rose to Rs 9.12 paise from Rs 0.47 paise in 1947.
8. Total bed strength in hospitals and Government dispensaries rose from 600 in 1947 to 3,956 beds in 1967-68.
9. Power generating capacity at the end of the 3rd Plan was 36.52 Mws as against 4 Mws obtaining on the eve of independence.
10. Revenue from forests rose from Rs 0.26 crore in 1947 to Rs 4.05 crores during 1966-67.

5-Year Plans

I. Plan (1951-52)	Rs 12.7 crores
II. Plan	Rs 33.92 "
III. Plan	Rs 75.14 "
IV. Plan	Rs 225 "

Revenue of the State in 1967-68 came to Rs 104.34 crores. In 1950-51 production of food-grains was 3.31 lakhs tons. It came to 6.89 lakh tons in 1968. Expected increase in food grains in 4th Plan is 30 per cent. Development of Ladakh cost about Rs 70 lakhs and Stakna Hydro-electric project Rs 2.30 crores.

At a glance

Area	222800 Sq. km.
Population	3560976
Districts	10
Dialects	6
Occupation	Agriculture—80 per cent
Crops	Paddy, wheat and maize
Irrigation	773 lakh acres
Forests	8000 Sq. miles
Exports—fruits, saffron, handicrafts, woodwares.	
Hospitals—20+57PH C+18 PHK+178 AD+35A+K+4 MU +11 VDC+10 TBC+32 FPC+4 TU	
Press—15 dailies, 64 weeklies, 8 fortnightlies.	
Theatres	21
Roads	577 miles 1/b.t., 510m, 6715, 588 f.w., 549.5 b-1778 miles.
Transport—769 trucks, 309 buses, 21 taxis, 24 others—Govt.	
Private Sector—load carriers 772 buses, total 2745.	
Fleet—2791 cars, jeeps and S.W., 1814 two wheelers and 296 other vehicles.	

Banks—19 plus F.C.

Airposts—2.

Telephone—35 exchanges, 6000 civil connections.

Post Offices—890.

Tourist Traffic—1.40 lakhs.

Export earning—fruits Rs 40 lakhs, handicrafts Rs 6 crores,
timber Rs 5 crores.

Gazetted posts—2252

Pandits—27 per cent.

Muslims—42 per cent.

Non-gazetted posts—44529.

Pandits—18 per cent.

Muslims—47 per cent.

The position of representation in services has obviously improved. In 1947 the position was worse. Sikhs who have mostly taken to transport and army do not fare bad in Civil Services. The ratio of imbalance between boy students and girl students has decreased from 12:1 to 3:1 since 1947. The Education budget has gone up from Rs 35 lakhs to 5.50 lakhs.

Transport Department—income (1948-49) Rs 3046628

“ “ “ (1965-66) Rs 30752871

643 villages were electrified towards end of III Five year Plan.

Food Production (1951-52)—30.802

“ “ (1964-65)—61.992

Medical profession 1947—123.

“ “ 1967—781.

School going children in 6-11 year group 60 per cent.

Taccavi loans (1964-65)—20 lakhs.

Taccavi loans (1965-66) 80 lakhs.

Raghubar Dayal Commission which enquired into the communal disturbances of 1967 in the State indicted the Government for lapses. According to it much of the disturbances could be avoided by positive action. The report was critical of Mir Qasim's presence and participation in meetings in the Control Room.

The decision of the Plebiscite Front to take part in elections—Panchayats—municipalities, legislatures—was a fresh move in State politics. Since 1952 Plebiscite Front had boycotted elections. For seventeen years they had been clamouring for plebiscite.

Gulf between Qasim and Sadiq further widened in spite of Central intervention. Governance of the people went on as mere routine, day by day getting worse.

According to semi-official sources Kashmir has cost India Rs 3,500 crores to date since 1947.

Under Panchayat Act of 1958 election to Panchayats in the valley was held in August. Ladakh alone with a population of about 9,000 had 70 Panchayats having jurisdiction over 233 villages—38 in Leh Tehsil, 25 in Kargil and 7 in Zaskar. Plebiscite Front and Pradesh Congress only offered candidates. National Conference did not participate. 4,706 Panchas were elected to 732 Panchayats in the Valley and 3,570 Panchas to 551 Panchayats in Jammu where elections were held in June.

A Tehsildar's post and an Engineer's job was considered a big thing in Kashmir. Tehsildar because he was the rod of feudal regime and Engineer because he was a golden hen. 200 unemployed engineering graduates had resorted to a relay-fast and 34 were taken into custody in July.

All India hill fruit show held in the last week of June exhibited 1,200 specimens. Six other states also participated. Stress was laid to save Ambroo apple from extinction. The Kashmir firm *Harco* won six prizes.

Oneness of literature which did not recognise man made frontiers was expressed at 44th session of All India Bengali Literary Conference held at Srinagar on 6th July. A common script for Northern India was also suggested.

Two Ladakhi students made history by covering the whole distance from Srinagar to Leh across Zojila Pass on bicycles.

Imitating other states this State also went in for public lottery. The first prize was set at Rs two lakhs and a holiday in Kashmir. During feudal time public lotteries were banned. Now they carried a legal sanction.

Valour shown by a post-graduate science student of Kashmir University came to notice on 20th July. A group of students had gone for an outing to Aharbal under the escort of a Professor. After lunch a girl student went to the bank of the stream to fetch water. There her foot slipped and she was washed away. Another student who heard her last scream for help jumped but he was also washed away. A third student who also jumped to save both was miraculously saved. Brij Nath-Hindu boy—giving life for Muslim girl kept up historical tradition of secularism.

One acre of land yielded 60 quintals of paddy under guidance of Japanese team deputed by Olsca-International.

1969 Presidential election caused deep turmoil. Official candidate of the Congress was not supported by the Congress itself. Election was left to free vote. Congress party of the State Legislature did not vote for the official candidate while N.C. party did vote for the official candidate. 16th August was the voting day which created some sensation.

While the Presidential pool was under count on 20th August, an unpleasant situation cropped up at Sopore where police fired on demonstrating mobs as a result of which one person died and several were injured on both sides. The whole valley was put under curfew and educational institutions were closed for three days.

V. V. Giri's success was welcomed.

As a sequel to a mosque having been fired in Jerusalem there was hartal in the city. Habakadal became the centre of *morcha* where tear gas and even firing was resorted to. There were casualties on both sides—demonstrators and Police. This is the second time in one week that of all the notified areas in the city Habakadal alone came into limelight—accidental or preplanned.

Three persons were killed in Habakadal area alone. Curfew continued in the main city upto end of August. Colleges and schools re-opened on 1st Sept. Curfew was withdrawn in Sopore earlier to protect their fruit trade. The total death toll amounted to five.

It came to notice during Panchayat elections that a candidate could be disqualified from contesting elections for debt of a pumpkin and two brinjals and another because his horse was found grazing on land owned by the Panchayat. In Kashmir both Front and Congress claimed majority so in Jammu did both Jansangh and Congress.

Art was not neglected. Over 300 Centres were set up to train artisans and designers.

Labour received special attention. Labour required for defensive purpose was looked after through Labour Boards—their wages, working hours, medical aid, ration distribution etc.

From October onwards the State modified its ration policy: Persons having a monthly income of Rs 600 and above received rations at (a) wheat Rs 75 per quintal, (b) ata Rs 88 per quintal and (c) paddy Rs 50 per quintal. This was expected to reduce food subsidy which amounted to Rs 7.62 crores in 1966-67 and Rs 12.49 crores in 1968-69. Assessment of incomes opened a fresh chapter.

Ladakh and Kargil were also brought under statutory rationing with effect from October.

J and K University was formally bifurcated—one for Kashmir and one for Jammu—by an ordinance issued on 6th Sept. The demand for independent university in Jammu was motivated by political considerations.

College for Shaivya philosophy was formally inaugurated by Dr Karan Singh on 7th Sept. at Ishabar. He cited instances of Lal Ded and Nur-ud-din who were inspired by Shaivya philosophy. That Kashmir was the home of Shaivya philosophy, there were no two opinions about it.

It was 13th of Sept. Abdullah who organised reconstruction of Hazratbal mosque with public subscription took out a procession from Dalgate to mark the foundation laying ceremony. The procession

was not permitted through interior of the city because of apprehended clash. The Govt. declared half day holiday to permit people to go to Hazratbal with the procession. First estimate was about 15 lakhs of rupees, the second estimate ran into 30 lakhs. The model of the new mosque was shown to thousands of believers. The demolition of 200-year old structure was completed today. All retired Muslim Engineers looked after its construction.

The communal disturbances in Gujrat and Ahmedabad echoed in Kashmir. The whole valley observed hartal on 27th and as a precaution schools and colleges were again closed. Abdullah warned India that under such conditions, would Kashmir Muslims remain with India? Banning of all communal organisations was imperative. Non-Muslims also responded to the call.

Delhi-Gulmarg car rally organised by Automobile Association in collaboration with State Tourism Deptt. on 27th Sept. aroused great interest. Standard Herald was the first to reach. Prize was determined by other factors as well.

Since 1947 schools multiplied in the State by nine times and expenditure on them by 17 times.

For the first time sapphires produced from Padar Mines (Kishtwar) was auctioned at Srinagar. Previously the products were sent out for sale. A good number of bidders had responded. Auction continued from 19th to 21st.

Eleventh Northern-Zonal Council was held in Srinagar during first week of October. Chief Ministers of Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana, J and K and Chief Executive Councillor of Delhi attended. Subjects ranging from communalism to lotteries were skimmed through under the guidance of Central Home Minister. The States demand for 10 M.W. from Bhakra and 2.5 M.W. from Basi was conceded.

Hartal was observed in the city and other parts of the valley on 7th October to protest against transfer of evacuee property to refugees, bill regarding which came up before the Assembly. Heat generated on the floor of the House prevented the smooth passage of the bill. The call for hartal given by Awami League was not responded to but stone throwing and abuses by mob held the field.

There was a controversy over a bill in the House. The Speaker sent for Advocate General's opinion who opined that the bill was not a money bill. Yet the Speaker ruled that the bill was a money bill and as such it fell through.

Seven seats which had fallen vacant in the Legislative Council went to Congress —4 to Sadiq party and 3 to Qasim party. It became known that members of the National Conference group had voted for Qasim party. Bakhshi-Qasim alliance was in the making.

14th and 15th Oct. witnessed a minor incident. Students of a local college defying sec. 144 stoned police on duty. Routes from S.P. College to Budshah chowk became scenes of a miniature war bringing

all traffic to standstill. Replying to an adjournment motion in the Assembly which was in session the leader of the House stated that no death had occurred because of firing or lathi charge. One collapsed within College laboratory. The dead body was cremated at dead of night under Police escort. The boy belonged to a minority community. Evacuee land or no evacuee land, refugees or no refugees, plebiscite fever must be kept alive.

Forests cover an area of 8,100 sq. miles. Total stock of coniferous trees is estimated at 3,233 million c.f. Annual yield amounts to about 14 million c.f. This year's royalty arrears amounted to about Rs 20 crores.

The Steering Committee of the States Peoples Convention passed a resolution towards the end of Oct. that the Convention would not be averse to 'Yielding' to any Central authority. India or Pakistan, the three subjects—defence, foreign affairs and communications, once the people gave their verdict on the future affiliation of the State. The internal constitutional set up of the State was also outlined. Sheikh's conception of the State was the same as it existed prior to 1947.

All-India Police meet was held at Srinagar on 15th November. About 1,000 delegates (Police Officers) from all States attended. How to meet menace of growing crime and how to secure greater co-operation between the force and the public were issues that received attention. A Police fair was also held at Tourist Reception Centre for five days.

In 1968-69 Air-lines carried about 43,000 passengers while 31,000 travelled on the route. The total volume of cargo lifted was 1,50,000 Kgms. This growing air travel indicated affluence of people and attraction of Kashmir. And this is bound to go up with the passage of time.

Mir Qasim again expressed his desire to resume as President of P.C.C. on 17th Nov. but the offer was rejected. His resignation had neither been accepted nor rejected to this day. This sudden change of mind posed a problem. This indicated deeper rift between Qasim and Sadiq who stated that he would not recognise Qasim as Congress Chief. But the President of dissident Congress held at Delhi nominated Qasim as a member of the Working Committee which also terminated before the ink had dried i.e. within a fortnight.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan who was on a state visit to India was due to arrive in Kashmir on 26/11 but the visit did not mature. Why?

It is February. There was no rain or snow. Dry spell continued since November last. Such a weather in Kashmir is not unusual but it is not common either. The spell was slightly broken on 11th Jan. by a nominal shower while the dry spell virtually continued on till 25th January, 1970 and yet without a regular snow fall of the season. Early spring flowers like Nargis and Bradmushak were casually seen during mid-Chilakalan. Sunny days, no snow, no frost were a feature of the season.

Fire on 19-20 January at Nalbandpura gutted one house and killed eight souls, the remaining 8 souls living in the upper storey of the same house were rescued by fire brigade. This grim tragedy carried horror so much so that even Govt. promised a further grant of Rs 1 crore to the service.

Dr Karan Singh created a Trust under the name 'Hari Tara Trust' (to perpetuate the memory of his parents) and donated Ranbir Mahal, Karan Mahal and staff quarters attached to them for promotion of educational and cultural pursuits. To his credit go also (a) Gulab Bhawan at Jammu (b) University of Jammu with separate Medical, Engineering and Law Colleges (c) Place to Dogri in the list of national languages of India, (d) Tourist Hotel in Jammu (e) Sainik School in Jammu and so on. No popular leader in the State can claim such a contribution for the welfare of his community and country.

His advice to princes to voluntarily surrender privy purses due to them according to agreement arrived at 20 years ago carried weight of his personality.

With about 1/3 of the area still under adverse occupation the revenue of the State went up to Rs 49 crores and 26 lakhs. Public health went up to Rs 9.12 per head per year, electric power generation went up to 26 mgts and elective power was supplied to 720 villages in 1968-69. The Finance Commission distributed a loan of Rs 77 lakhs 35 thousand among 184 parties and issued bonds worth Rs 55 lakhs. The agricultural production went up to 93 lakh quintals.

February heaved with a big sensation. Cement and iron stolen from Govt. godowns worth about two crores of rupees was unearthed. During searches cement, iron etc., worth about five lakhs was seized and about 50 persons—officers, contractors and merchants were taken into custody.

Revenue receipts for 1970-71 were anticipated to be Rs 67.20 crores and expenditure Rs 65.26 crores. The surplus of Rs 1.94 crores was to be wiped off by a deficit of Rs 2.51 crores on the capital side leaving a net deficit of Rs 57 lakhs.

Increased tax on property and registration of motor cars could yield Rs 10 lakhs. Nationalisation of timber extraction from forests could yield Rs 40 lakhs. Reducing inequalities in agricultural sector could cover up balance of Rs 7 lakhs. The Plan budget was raised to Rs 158 crores and 40 lakhs. The emphasis was laid on irrigation, power and agriculture. The states liabilities up to end of March, 1969 amounted to Rs 29.5 crores on account of the Principal and Rs 20.5 crores on account of interest.

The Assembly which was in session was suddenly prorogued on 14th March before passing even the budget for 1970-71. The reason given was Janasangh agitation for removal of food rations disparity as recommended by Gajendragadkar Commission. But the reason was deeper. Mir Qasim's group within the Assembly had gained greater

strength by defections and Sadiq group was thus reduced to minority. To avoid facing a no-confidence motion Governor was advised to prorogue the Assembly. Change of loyalty i.e. new political trick under democracy.

Third week of March witnessed a parade of about 35 J and K Assembly members in Delhi expressing no-confidence in Sadiq Ministry. This was a unique demonstration since independence. Members met members of Parliament and Central leaders including the President. There was a bid for price from either side.

On 18th March, 1948 members of J and K Legislature party declared full confidence in the leadership of Sadiq.

Sadiq-Qasim tussle which gave a mimic show in Delhi ended with a formula inspired by Centre—Sadiq to continue as leader of Legislature party, Qasim to take over as Congress chief, Cabinet to be slightly expanded at convenience to accommodate left wingers.

But 16th May took a different turn in State Politics. Sadiq was voted as Congress Chief also. Mir Qasim was voted as member of All India Congress Committee (R). All M.P.'s and M.L.A.'s had participated in the election.

32-day old agitation led by Janasangh against discriminatory policies of the Govt. ended on 27th March. Price of wheat and rice at Rs 50 per quintal and of ata Rs 55 was made available from April 1. 185 Jail inmates were down with food poisoning. They were released and admitted to hospital for treatment. But trouble in Ladakh and Bhadarwah continued, though in a subdued form.

The total debt of the state ending March, 1969 stood at Rs 154.66 crores of which Rs 151.97 crores was from Central Govt.

Departmental arrears—Rs 15.29 crores (Forest lessees alone Rs 12.44 crores).

The debt amounted to 55 per cent of total State revenue. Loans etc. Rs 279.49 crores.

(Recovery Rs 120.13 crores only)

The Audit Report for 1970 revealed the following:

- (a) Goods worth 9 lakhs and 20 thousand rupees unaccounted for in Govt. stores.
- (b) 2 lakhs and 78 thousand rupees—fraud
- (c) Unnecessary expenditure of 7 lakhs and 85 thousand rupees by some departments.
- (d) Unused goods worth 48 lakhs of rupees lying in Mechanical stores at Pampore since many years.
- (e) Machinery worth about 14 lakhs lying waste since last ten years. Purchases were made from dealers to benefit them.
- (f) And so on.

It was revealed that Jammu received 25 per cent of development expenditure and Ladakh 5 per cent only and Jammu was given 36 per cent representation while Ladakh 1.4 per cent only.

35 out of 42 recommendations of Gajendragadkar Report were accepted while the remaining had political overtones which was responsible for Govt's hesitation to accept them.

The Panchayat Conference held at Jammu in the first week of April was boycotted by Plebiscite Front. Panchayat elections were held in the State after ten years.

A leaf from Assembly proceedings: (March Session)

1. Deaths due to police firing during last six years	...	35
2. Number of wounded	...	131
3. Promulgation of Sec. 144	...	41
4. Police firing	...	41 occasions.
5. Arrests made	...	3,797
6. Relief to dead	...	Rs 1,25,000
7. Relief to wounded	...	Rs 94,450
8. One wounded was sent to Moscow for treatment	...	4,000

While patch-up between two wings of the Pradesh Congress Committee was still in the making G. M. Rajpuri, a former Minister and Speaker, announced formation of rival Congress linked with the Old Congress.

A new bridge at Sumbal was thrown open to public on 11th April. It is the longest bridge in the Valley and has been built at a cost of Rupees thirty lakhs. Roads and bridges are keys to economic prosperity of a country.

Usually autumns in Kashmir strike fires but this time it is spring that struck fires largely in the country side. It was estimated that more than a 1000 houses and huts were burnt plus huge property. Was it local resentment or enemy action or mere accident? There were many guesses.

Maulvi Movd. Farooq who leads Awami Action Committee stated openly that his party will not participate in elections. Wazpura is his stronghold.

About 75,000 tons of fruit were exported in 1969. This industry supports about seven lakhs of people.

There are 42,000 chinars still standing in the valley including about 600 year old chinar in Bijbehara.

Syed Mir Qasim's pressure at last bore fruit. The State cabinet was reshuffled on 28th May and the Ministers were sworn on the same day.

- (a) *Chief Minister:* G. M. Sadiq, G. L. Dogra, Abdul Gani Goni, M. N. Kaul.
- (b) *Ministers of State:* Noor Mohammad, Sonam Wangyal, Bhagat Chhojoram, Randhir Singh.
- (c) *Deputy Ministers:* A. G. Mir, Abdul Gani Lone, Kachu Ali Mohd. Khan,
Qasim party was no gainer.

April and May fires affected about 7,000 persons and about 750 families. About 900 houses were gutted. Relief amounting to about six lakhs of rupees was distributed.

Internal troubles such as Bhadarwah—Doda and Kishtwar dispute, Kargil—Leh dispute and external headaches such as construction of a 70 mile road in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir as a joint Sindh-Pakistan venture pay good dividends to the State.

In 1931 Abdullah looked taller than his people. In 1969 people looked taller than Abdullah. Within the last 22 years they have made substantial progress. There is no sphere of activity in which they have not taken a leap forward—poultry, bee keeping, fruit industry, farming, trade, art, education, sport, music, dance, drama, literature and what not but they lost on the political front—rivalry among leaders—Mirwaiz—Abdullah—Bakhshi—Sadiq—Beg, Kara. Skating, a winter game—was not ignored. A club was started at Gulmarg to train boys and girls in skating who would guide the game.

Kashmir had its value and to have it no sacrifice was too great. Abdullah was extolled above his stature. When he looked into the game he was removed from office and even jailed and tried. Hari Singh suffered a similar fate-expulsion. Bakhshi would not quit. It was not 1953. It was 1964. Theft of holy relic from Hazratbal was a successful device. Bakhshi Rashid, the bugbear, took to heels never to be heard of again. Qureshi's crusade against Bakhshi paid him good dividends. 'Kamraj Plan' of voluntary resignations was also invoked. Still Bakhshi set up his own puppet. Sadiq is tolerated as a nice 'Yes-man' but he also is alert to his vital interests.

On the war front there was heavy loss of men, money and material which continues to be a closed chapter.

Loss of life is made up but land remains the same. Kashmir is the crown of India. Without this crown India would look rather ugly. What little India has done for Kashmir is for India herself, not so much for Kashmir.

1969-70 budget at a glance.

- (a) deficit Rs 61.68 crores.
(b) share of taxes Rs 7.49 crores
(c) grant-in-aid 24.98 crores.
(d) loan Rs 20.00 crores.

1969 survey indicated that 3 per cent of the population had built new houses, that 40 per cent of the population were supplied pure water, that city's dimensions had doubled (16 to 32 sq. miles in area), that electric power had increased by 10 per cent, that education and medical relief had spread to border lines, that rush for telephone connections spoke of growing economic prosperity.

Power Projects

1. Chinani Hydel Project—cost Rs. 9 crores $\frac{24,000}{14,000}$ Kwt.
2. Kalakot Thermal Project—cost Rs 4.40 lakhs—22.5 mgwts.
3. Lower Jhelum Hydel Project—cost Rs 13.64 crores plus Rs 4 crores 128/92/46 mgwts.
4. Upper Singh Hydel Projects—cost Rs 8/5 crores —22.5 mgwts.
5. Salal Project—cost Rs 55 crores.

Window Peep

1. *Spinning Mills.* Twelve hundred additional spindles have been recently installed in the Factory to double its capacity.
2. *Leather Tanneries:* The production has gone up from Rs 17.73 lakhs in 1967-68 to Rs 26 lakhs in 1968-69.
3. *Joinery Mills:* Joinery Mill has got 70 per cent more business in the year 1969-70 than the previous years.
4. *Handloom Silk Weaving Factory:* The products of this factory are mostly booked for sale to H.H.E.C.
5. *Govt. Silk Weaving Factory, Rajbagh:* The expected production for the year 1969-70 viz 375 lakh metres has been made up.
6. *Jammu Sericulture:* Jammu Sericulture has achieved self-sufficiency in Industrial seed.
7. *Kashmir Sericulture:* It is getting out of the woods.
8. *Government Woollen Mills:*
 - (a) rational sales method introduced.
 - (b) modernisation project has been undertaken at an estimated cost of Rs 143 lakhs.
 - (c) The spinning section of the New Woollen Mills at Bemina is under progress.
9. *Kashmir Government Arts Emporium:* The domestic sales of the Kashmir Govt. Arts Emporium for the year 1968-69 was Rs. 6 lakhs more than that in the year 1967-68.
10. *Brick and Tile Factory:* The capacity of the Brick and Tile Factory will be raised by nearly 60 per cent by installation of additional brick machinery plant and installation of a dryer within the current financial year.

11. *Rosin and Turpentine Factory*: The factory has made 60 per cent more profit than in the year 1967-68.
12. *Match and Santonin Factory, Baramulla*: The Factory at Baramulla has increased its production more than 100 per cent.

A Department has been opened for foreign exports.

Kashmir exported 7.50 lakh quintals of fruit in 1969 of which 6.50 lakh quintals were apples. While 6 crore watch factory sponsored by Hindustan Machine Tools is in the offing even brooms and hay are imported. This is a grim contrast.

Revision in ration tickets in Srinagar in August showed an increase of 56,603 children. By this the rationed population of the city rose to about 4 lakhs, 18 thousand.

An ordinance on communalism was issued by the Governor making it an offence to preach, promote or practise communalism.

Five persons were arrested at Bijbihara—two women and three men—in a big haul. 5,000 U.S. dollars and 3,000 £s were recovered from them (total Rs 3,25,000).

During Prime Minister of India's (Indira Gandhi) visit to Kashmir 14-16 July the State looked virtually like a Police State. Her public speech at Pologround on 15th was listened to by more than 25,000 people. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd, who was prominent on Indira Gandhi's arrival, was missing on the dais. He was exposed by Abdullah, Sadiq and Mrs Gandhi. Her statement that the accession of Kashmir and its relationship with India was now part of history and it could not be reversed had its reaction the next day when students organised demonstrations and confronted Police.

A further increase of dearness allowance was sanctioned by Govt. in favour of employees drawing pay up to Rs 499. The allowance rate was Rs 7 to Rs 11 and was expected to cost Rs 36 lakhs per annum.

Before the expiry of August National Conference strived for merger into National Congress. Qasim and Bakhshi to conduct 1972 elections. Proposed merger did not affect the leadership of Sadiq upto 1972. The triangular alliance of Sadiq, Qasim and Bakhshi would not yield a bumper crop. Sadiq was reluctant to take in Bakhshi in spite of Central intervention for alliance.

An unprecedented snow-storm overtook a huge caravan of pilgrims to Shri Amar Nath cave atop Sheshnag mountain, 13,000 ft. above sea level on 16th August. The pilgrimage was abandoned for the first time since 1947 due to sub-zero temperature. Chhari was permitted to proceed with 100 sadhus and at their own risk. The caravan included 6,000 pilgrims, 702 sadhus, 6,500 porters, 3,600 ponies, 200 Police officers, 200 Govt. officials, 109 foreign tourists. The death toll stood at 18 according to official report but it was near about 100, mostly women. About 30 ponies also perished (official figure) but it was more.

The huge caravan had divided, about 2,000 marched on and the rest returned to base camp at Pahalgam. Those who proceeded on with Chhari fair weather following—had Darshan of the Snow-God. The number was roughly 2,000.

Independent reports revealed that prices shot up too much—a cup of tea sold at rupees five, a match box at one rupee, one bottle of kerosene oil at Rs 10 and a mere shelter from Rs 10 to 20 rupees. The official help was missing. The appointment of a Commission of Enquiry under the chairmanship of the Revenue Minister after the tragedy was an eye-wash. If money and personnel were yoked together on the spot much relief could be provided. 'While Rome was burning, heads of administration were fiddling at Srinagar'.

The month of August thrilled with social reform activity organised by college students. The entire Muslim community was taken by surprise. Earlier attempts by Pandit community in the same field had failed.

A cloud burst hit a hillock in Rajpura village near Awantipura resulting in an 1,880 ft. long crack of three inches width on 21st August.

Narboo is a Ladakhi engineer. His appointment as India's ambassador in outer Mongolia was the second such assignment since independence in 1947.

About 37 persons from various parties were taken into custody under Preventive Detention Act in June. About 24 arrests were made in Kashmir and about 13 in Jammu. According to Govt. most of the arrested persons were apprehended as Naxalites.

After his exit from power Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd took special permission to address a public meeting at Hazuribagh on 6th July but rowdiness dispersed what little audience had gathered to listen to him and he himself disappeared in his own faltering words. His own achievements and his charges against present regime were all lost.

Political parties which were in the field pulling the State in different directions:

Pradesh Congress (O)

Political Conference

Awami League

Jan Sangh

Pradesh Congress (N)

National Conference

Plebiscite Front

Democratic Front

Yuvak Sabha

Shias and Sikhs under various covers

While in 1948 there were 225 load carriers only Kashmir had now 1,180 vehicles—74 trucks, 360 buses, 24 taxis and 22 others and in the private sector 2,500 public carrier trucks and 1,000 other buses besides 700 motor cars. The State Transport Undertaking yielded a profit of Rs 16 lakhs in 1968-69.

The economic activity of the State hummed up with Central investment of more than Rs 115 crores which was outside the 148 crore Central contribution to the State's Rs 158 crores Fourth Plan. Medium and major industries in the private sector received Rs 45 crores. This investment of Rs 318 crores was double the expenditure during the last 18 years of planned development. The State's contribution during the Fourth Plan was about Rs 9 crores. Expenditure on social services was reduced from 22.60 per cent in the Third Plan to 15.72 per cent in the Fourth Plan against total expenditure having increased from 16.99 crores to Rs 24.89 crores. Expenditure on power development in the Fourth Plan came to Rs 40.09 crores as compared to Rs 10.65 crores in the Third Plan—an increase from 14.17 per cent to 40.09 per cent of the total outlay. Rayon project, State Hydel project, Railways' extension and oil exploration (Rs 22 crores, Rs 55 crores, Rs 15 crores and Rs 5 crores) were in the time table.

Due to drought food imports for 1970-71 were raised to 15 lakh tons. Last year it was 12 lakh tons. Food production in 1968-69 stood at 9 lakh 23 thousand tons. Sale of fertilizers came down from 44,000 tons to 28,000 tons. There were 30 seed farms in the State. Agricultural production remained well in hand.

The Central Silk Worm Seed Station established in 1958 at Pampore has maintained and preserved 67 races of silk worms. It has saved foreign exchange—Rs 14 lakhs annually.

Three years between III Plan and IV Plan resources Rs 60 crores.

Three years between III Plan and IV Plan expenditure Rs 24 crores (1969-70).

IVth 5-year plan Rs 158 crores

Per capita income

1950-51	...	Rs 188
1968-69	...	Rs 299

Revenue

1947-48	...	Rs 275 lakhs
1964-65	...	Rs 2,653 lakhs
1969-70	...	Rs 6,321 lakhs

In-put of fertilizers

1964-65	...	7.194 tonnes
1968-69	...	28.00 tonnes

Food grains

1969-70 ... 99 lakh quintals

Industry

- (a) Handicrafts Corporation.
- (b) Industrial Development Corporation—Rs 1.5 crores (capital)
- (c) J. and K. Financial Corporation 1969-70—Rs 77.35 (loans)
- (d) Tourism 1969-70—1,07,000

Services

45 per cent jobs reserved for scheduled castes and backward classes.

Apart from fires there were many cloud bursts at Poonch, Wazigund etc. this year. About one crore of rupees were spent on rehabilitation alone.

First week of October witnessed a Post office in a House boat with Telegraph and Telephone facilities including Savings bank account near Nehru Park in the Dal Lake. This was the year 1970 calling.

Fourteen cases of sabotage were registered between April and July in which military trucks and security personnel were attacked (1970). About 74 persons were taken into custody.

Kashmir valley had its seasons first snowfall on 22nd October.

A social thrill came to notice in October. A milkman of Chhatabal commanding a family strength of about eighty persons celebrated fourteen marriages at one and the same time—seven brides and seven bride grooms. Joint family system had not altogether disappeared from Kashmir and prosperity of professions had attained a high standard.

The rationing population in the State is round about 29 lakhs and 62 thousand.

Jammu	16,70,000
Kashmir	12,92,000

State lottery yielded an income of Rs 86,87,000.

There were 178 under trials in State jails by end of August. About 25 of these were Pakistani agents.

CHAPTER XXII
EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES AND
ANNOUNCEMENTS

Butler Committee

'They had imagined a Committee different alike in composition and functions from that which ultimately materialised. It was expected that round a nucleus of English statesmen of reputation, there would be grouped representatives of the Government of India, of British India and of the Indian States together with financial, constitutional and political experts. Two things were uppermost in their minds; firstly, they had become painfully conscious that what was called political practice whittled away rights, which they believed to have been safe-guarded by treaties; secondly, they found their position was one of considerable uncertainty, not merely in regard to their future relations with a self governing British India, but also in regard to their present relations with the Government of India. They were anxious to find out precisely where they stood, where their rights began and those of the Paramount power ended so that they might take stock of the part they were called upon to play in greater India which they saw shaping before their eyes, but the Committee from the very nature of its personnel and restricted lines of reference could not conduct an examination satisfactorily. The Committee by its own admission was not a judicial tribunal. This was conclusive evidence that the State could not receive at its hands that kind of award which was their principal reason for asking for an enquiry at all'.

—HARI SINGH

Round Table Conference

'Allied by treaty with the British Crown and within our territories independent rulers, we have come with a full sense of responsibility to our State and all India. As the allies of British we stand solidly by the British connection. As Indians and loyal to the land of our birth, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our land's enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth. Our desire to co-operate to the best of our ability with all sections of the Conference is genuine, as also is our determination to base our co-operation upon the realities of the present situation.'

'Neither England nor India can afford to see this Conference end in failure. We must resolve to succeed. Difficulties shall not be insuperable. We must exercise patience, tact and forbearance and be inspired by mutual understanding and goodwill and we must give and take. If we succeed, England loses. The task is gigantic. In case of no people would such an aim as ours be easy to accomplish. In

case of India, complexity of factors is unique but by the grace of God and with good will and sympathy on both sides difficulties shall be surmounted and with the words of the King Emperor still ringing in our ears, we Princes affirm that the Conference shall not fail through any fault of ours'.

—HARI SINGH

Cripps's Mission (1942)

'We have yet to know the conclusions at which His Majesty's Government has unanimously arrived under the combined stress of British India's well-known demands and the requirements of the war situation to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of all interests'.

'On the part of the States, a considerable factor in the Indian policy and an important party to be satisfied, there has been a tendency even within recent weeks to give prominence to the credo of 'Relations to the Crown.' These relations have so far been maintained through and effected by a Department set up by the will of the Crown, the policy and practice of the Department being determined by the Crown's functionaries. Logically, therefore, it would seem that the Princes cannot object to having dealings with a Central Government of India which the Crown may constitute. Nor have they any reason to assume that they would not get a square deal from such a Government.

'In any case, it is the duty of the Princes to show themselves the equals of nationals anywhere in the world'.

'The Princes are justified in assuming that, in a self-governing India, every autonomous unit will share equally the fiscal and financial advantage accruing in such an India as well as the responsibilities and burdens entailed by the maintenance of peace and order and the provision of beneficent service and public utilities in the territories administered. And it should not be forgotten that these territories may have problems peculiar to their populations as well as to their physical conditions'.

'In the India of to-morrow, such of the Princes' prerogatives as enable them to afford a better life to their subjects and to ameliorate their lot must remain. Other privileges, which may be merely matters of honour and glory, shedding effulgence on their personalities, are of comparatively small account when set beside other considerations such as the safe-guarding of resources necessary for up-to-date Government and the relief of burdens borne by the State alone'.

'In promising to support the proposals brought by Sir Stafford Cripps, the Chamber of Princes added the proviso that the support should be without prejudice to the right of individual states to lay their case before him and generally without prejudice to the inherent or catalogue when one considers the effect of the political practice inaugurated in 1860 and since maintained with the aid of 'usage and sufferance'. In any case, there is a piquant irony in the contrast between the Princes' reiteration of the phrase—'Treaty Rights' and the Viceroy's

suggestion that all Princes, for certain purposes, should voluntarily abdicate in favour of the Political officers accredited to their courts'.

'When at the Round Table Conference the Princes assented to the working out of a Federal Constitution, they were prepared voluntarily to delegate some of their sovereign powers to Federal Government. In the India of the future, it is possible that the matters committed to the Central Government would be far fewer than those recited in the Table of Federal Matters appended to the Act of 1935'.

'Unless, therefore, the proposals entrusted in Sir Stafford Cripps are fundamentally adverse to the interests of the Indian States and this is unthinkable there is no reason why there should not be ample common ground between the States and the rest of India'.

Freedom must be our watchword... freedom from crippling restrictions and strangling control, freedom from the subordination of India's interests to the interests of other parts of the Commonwealth.

—HARI SINGH

Franchise Committee's Report

'The Committee after pointing out the difficulty and the diversity of population in the State recommended the constitution of State assembly of 75 members of which 16 will be State Councillors—12 officials and 33 elected: 14 Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Buddhists will be nominated from constituencies in which election is impossible. The Assembly should be presided over by a Minister. The Committee lay down that every elector must be a State Subject who had acquired immovable property in the State and has had ten years' continuous residence. The Committee do not agree that women in general should be enfranchised. Adult male suffrage being impossible primarily on administrative grounds, franchise ten per cent of the adult male population in the cities and about 15 per cent in the country. The Assembly's terms will be three years. Age prescribed for an elector is 21 years and that for a candidate 25 years'.

State Council (1991)

'The Council of Ministers of the State shall comprise the Prime Minister for the time being and such other Ministers of the State as His Highness may appoint. The Prime Minister who shall be the President of the Council and the other Ministers shall hold office during His Highness' pleasure and the superintendence, direction and control of the Civil Administration and Government be vested in the Council'.

'The Legislature of the State shall consist of the Council and the Assembly and subject to the provision of this Regulation no legislative measure shall be deemed to have passed unless it has been passed by the Council or the Assembly and has received the assent of His Highness. An ordinance on being assented to by His Highness shall have the force of law for a period not exceeding six months from the date of promulgation'.

Proclamation of Praja Sabha

'We recently expressed our wish and pleasure that means be designed whereby our people may be more closely associated in our Councils; and in pursuance of our Commands thus declared those persons appointed by us to give practical shape to our wishes have submitted their recommendations which have been accepted by us'.

'The assemblage here present this day is the out-come of their labours to give outward form to our behests. It is the first of its kind in recent times; out of old, the duties which you will have to perform were duties which were always shouldered and loyally discharged by the Praja ever since the institution of monarchy came into being in this ancient land of India. To acquaint themselves with the needs of their people the kings of old have caused to be performed, and maintained, bodies from village Panchayats, up to assemblies of this nature, composed of the representatives of the various interests in their kingdom. Our own record bears witness to this'.

'For our part we declare that Divine Providence having laid upon us the sacred duty to care equally for all those committed to our guardianship, we can recognise no difference between one person and another or between one class and another. They are all our beloved children whatever their persuasion or creed, and we desire to protect, foster, guide and advance them by every means in our power'.

'Out of the great love and affection we bear our beloved subjects, we have called you to do your part in the working for the well being of this State. We have appointed your task and indicated the lines of the service you can render to yourselves and to your Ruler whose ordained duty it is to safeguard and promote your best interests. We desire you to enter upon the discharge of your responsibilities in such a way that your behaviour may be an example to others and your achievements at once a model for them to emulate and a monument to your own earnestness and your loyalty to the State that you serve'.

'No one here to-day can fail to realise that both in theory and practice the existence of a stable society and a peaceful community involves, presupposes a head whose sway must be ungrudgingly accepted and whose behests must be loyally carried out, if harmony and orderly progress of the community is to be achieved. In recent times, certain nations have departed from this, and the world has witnessed the sorry spectacle of chaos and anarchy. The fate of these nations should provide us with an object lesson. Those who have chosen precipitately to break from their ancient moorings have not yet found the haven of peace; they are still floundering in stormy waters. Peace and harmony are the essential conditions of progress and prosperity, and all can see that the world of the present day after experiencing the storm and stress of unsettlement is once again discovering the axiom that peaceful progress, even if slow, is in the long run the best, indeed the only way.

'Beware of impassioned utterances so much in vogue today. They invariably formulate unbalanced and unpractical ideals that are as much

divorced from decisive factors and stern realities as they are foreign to the genius of our race. Cultivate sobriety of thought and expression, shunning all that is disruptive and devote all your energies to creative and constructive work which alone can help to ameliorate the lot and conduce to the happiness of those whose spokesmen you have undertaken to be'.

'May the Dispenser of all Bounties in His infinite mercy and wisdom bless your labours, and may those labours conducted in perfect harmony rebound to the credit of our subjects whose first chosen representatives you are, and to the glory of our unique heritage and of our body politic'.

—HARI SINGH

Appointment of two Popular Ministers

'With a view to giving further effect to my policy of associating my subjects with the administration of the State, I have after careful consideration decided to call upon the Praja Sabha to nominate panel of six (three to be Muslims) of its members, three from Jammu (including the Frontier Districts). Out of the panel so nominated, I shall appoint two (one of whom will be a Muslim) as my Ministers. These Ministers shall hold charge of portfolios to be determined by me and will hold office during my pleasure'.

—HARI SINGH

Popular Ministers

- (1) Mr M. A. Beg and
- (2) Wazir Ganga Ram

(The farce of dyarchy was exposed on 19th March, 1946 when Beg's resignation was accepted as the wheel of constitution was not run).

Silver Jubilee of King Emperor

'During my absence in England to attend the Silver Jubilee of His Majesty the King Emperor, I can assure you that you were all constantly in my mind'.

'Unfortunately, Kashmir was visited by a serious epidemic of cholera which, however, I am glad to say, through the heroic efforts of our Medical Department and willing and wise co-operation of my people was brought completely under control'.

—HARI SINGH

Public Reception (24-10-1941)

'Most of my time was given in visiting the fighting men who have gone to this theatre of war from our country. I found them well and extremely cheerful, bent on their business and full of confidence as to their future. You have alluded to the part played in the war so far by our 1st Mountain Battery under the command of that efficient and capable officer Lt Col Bhagwan Singh. You will be glad to know that

wherever I went and whichever officers of high military rank I met, not one of them could say enough about the gallantry and professional skill of this Unit so much so that even in the sea-plane yesterday there were congratulations offered on the splendid service which our Battery has done. My general impression, however, is that India may look forward with calm assurance to a bright future of security and prosperity. I cannot forego this public opportunity of reading out the message which the officers and men of our Mountain Battery asked me to convey to their brothers-in-arms. The message is—'Brothers, you have, no doubt, heard of the services which we on behalf of our Ruler and our State were privileged to render to the Empire in more than one theatre of war. Proud as we are of this stroke of good fortune we are convinced that given a similar opportunity all of you who have received same training under the watchful eye of our Master will distinguish yourself even more and thus add lustre and renown to his name and that of our State. You will be glad to hear that we are all well and happy and praying that some of you at least may be able to come over and fight shoulder to shoulder with us. Till then our heartiest greetings'.

—HARI SINGH

Address of Welcome (22-7-1944)

'I would not have missed the opportunity and the experience for anything. I was in London at two of the most dramatic moments of the war; namely, the entry of the Allied force into Rome and Allied landing on the coast of Normandy events which are important milestones on our march to Victory—speaking from a purely personal point of view, when I was right up in the front line within a few hundred yards of the enemy and when I flew over the German Lines in Italy, I felt a thrill and a happiness which I had scarcely ever felt before. It did one's heart good to see when actually flying over the enemy lines that there was little activity there. In Italy, I saw all the three Indian Divisions and found them full of courage and spirits. The Indian troops are always in the forefront of the battle and are glad to be there. Whenever I saw an Indian unit moving up to the front, I watched the faces of the men. Each face was wreathed in smiles. No wonder that every commander I met had only praise and admiration for the Indian soldier. Although none of the units of the forces of this State was at the Italian front, I noticed with interest and pride that this State was very well represented in the units of the Indian Army that were there. What I saw and heard while in England convinced me of the high determination of every man and woman to achieve complete victory and lasting peace, no matter what the sacrifice involved might be'.

'A word about my work in the War Cabinet. We, the representatives of India, attended the meetings of the War Cabinet relating to the conduct of the war on terms of absolute equality with other members. The deliberations were carried on in an atmosphere of complete frankness and our opinion was sought and given in exactly the same

manner as that of other members of the War Cabinet. Similar was the case with the Dominion Premiers Conference. Though at neither of these Conferences did India come up for particular discussion, we were gratified to find considerable interest in Indian affairs and much friendly feelings towards India'.

—HARI SINGH

Extract from Sheikh Mohammad Abdulah's address to the Constituent Assembly set up in 1951:

'After centuries we have reached the harbour of our freedom, a freedom which for the first time in history will enable the people of Jammu and Kashmir whose duly elected representatives are gathered here to shape the future of their country after wise deliberation and mould their future organs of Government'.

'When we look back, we see how our footsteps have taken us not among the privileged, but into the homes of the poor and down trodden. We have fought their battle against privilege and oppression and against these darker powers in the background which sought to set man against man on the ground of religion.'

The New Kashmir says:

'We the people of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and the Frontier regions, including Poonch and Chenani Illaqa—commonly known as Jammu and Kashmir State in order to perfect our union in the fullest quality and self-determination, to raise ourselves and our children for ever from the abyss of oppression and poverty, degradation and superstition, from mediaeval darkness and ignorance, into the sunlit valleys of plenty, ruled by freedom, science and honest toil, in worthy participation of the historic resurgence of the peoples of the East and the working masses of the world, and in determination to make this our country ■ dazzling gem on the snowy bosom of Asia do propose and propound the following Constitution of our State'.

'French Constitution of 1791 Article 3 says—The sources of all sovereignty resides fundamentally in the Nation Sovereignty is one and indivisible, inalienable and imprescriptible. It belongs to the Nation'.

'New Kashmir contains a statement of the objective of our social policy. It gives broadly ■ picture of the kind of life that we hope to make possible for the people of Jammu and Kashmir and the manner in which the economic organization of the country will be geared to that purpose.

'The present House of the Rulers of our State based its claim to authority on the Treaty Rights granted to it by the British Governments in 1846. To throw light on the nature of these rights, it will be helpful to recall that the British power, in its drive for territorial expansion, achieved its objectives through a network of alliances with

the Indian Princes, subsidiary and subordinate, offensive and defensive. This mutually helpful arrangement enabled the British to consolidate their power, and strengthened the grip of the Princes, giving them military help in the event of rebellion by their exploited subjects. The Butler Committee Report on Treaty Rights in 1929 bears ample testimony on this.

It says:

'The duty of the Paramount Power to protect the States against rebellion and insurrection is derived from the clauses of treaties and *sanads*, from usage and from the promise of the King Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes carried with it a duty to protect the Prince against attempts to eliminate him and substitute another form of Government.

'In recognition of their services to the British Crown, the Indian Princes earned the rewards of a limited sovereignty over their States under the protection and suzerainty of the Paramount Power. It was in this way that their rights, privileges and prerogatives were preserved'.

'Thus the pioneers of British Imperialism subjugated India, aided by the Indian princes. This was hardly diplomacy; it amounted to fraud and deceit. Mutual agreements arrived at for such ignoble purposes were invested with the sanctity of treaties. And it is from such 'treaties' that the Princes claimed their right to rule. Our own State provides a classic example of this. One glance at ■ page of our history will lay bare the truth'.

'The State of Jammu and Kashmir came to be transferred to Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1846 after the Empire began to disintegrate. His failure to render competent assistance to the Sikh armies was duly noticed by the British as also his willingness to acknowledge their authority. This paved the way for the total occupation of Northern India by the British who were not slow in recognising Maharaja Gulab Singh's services to them. In reward they sold him the territory of Jammu and Kashmir for 75 lakhs of rupees and in the Treaty of Amritsar the British Government made over the entire country in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body'.

'In this way, the entire population of Jammu and Kashmir State came under his absolute authority. The peculiar indignity of the transaction naturally offended the national self-respect of our people who resisted the occupation of their country. But the direct intervention of the British troops helped the Maharaja to take possession of the territory'.

'This event in the history of the state had catastrophic consequences for the people. The old feudal order, which was bad enough, gave way to more exacting rule in which the Maharaja assumed all proprietary rights over land. The entire State was plunged into a chaotic economic condition, aggravated by a heavy scale of taxation, tributes and levies which were required to make up for the money given by the Maharaja

to the British. This unrelieved despotism reduced the bulk of the people to the level of serfs. There was general impoverishment. In 1848 some 4,000 artisans started on a trek to Lahore with the object of permanently settling there. Even the British counselled the Maharaja to loosen his grip so as to avoid a total collapse of his administration. Perhaps the forefathers of the great poet-philosopher son of Kashmir, Iqbal were also part of the same trail of migrants who left the State at this time. When his agony was over the fate of the people of his homeland burst out in immortal verse, his feelings are echoed in the heart of every Kashmiri'.

'O Wind, if you passthrough Geneva, give this message to the comity of the people of the world. They sold the peasant, his property and the roof over his head, in fact, they sold the entire nation and for what a paltry price!'

'Invested with this absolute authority, acquired in 1846, the present ruling dynasty was in power for one hundred years. This sad and stern century of servitude has stultified the growth of our people leaving them in the back waters of civilisation. While in British India, and even in some of the Indian States, many a measure of reform was introduced to alleviate the misery of the people in this State unenlightened absolutism of the Rulers drove them deeper into poverty and degradation. When conditions became increasingly intolerable, they made determined efforts to wrest power from the hands of the Ruler.'

'By 1947, India had achieved independence and reached one of her historical watersheds. It was clear that with the withdrawal of the Paramount Power, the Treaty rights of the Indian Princes would cease. Sovereignty in that case should revert to the people; they wished, therefore, to be consulted about the arrangements to be made with regard to the transfer of power. But a strange situation arose. The Cabinet Mission, while admitting the claims of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League in British India, completely refused a similar representation of the States people who would not allow the right of the Princes to speak on their behalf'.

'In our own State, the National Conference had made it clear as early as February 10, 1946, that it was against any further continuance of the treaty rights of the Princes which had been made in times and under circumstances which do not obtain now and which have been framed without seeking the consent of the State's peoples. Under the circumstances no treaties or engagements, which act as a dividing wall between their progress and that of their brethren in British India, can be binding on the people'.

'It was in this connection that I invited the attention of the Cabinet Mission to the standing inquiry of the Treaty of Amritsar and sought its termination. I wrote to the Cabinet Delegation that:

'As the Mission is at the moment reviewing the relationship of the Princes with the Paramount Power with reference to treaty rights, we wish to submit that for us in Kashmir re-examination of this relationship

is a vital matter because a hundred years ago in 1846, the land and people of Kashmir were sold away by the British for 50 lakhs of British Indian rupees. The people of Kashmir are determined to mould their destiny and we appeal to the Mission to recognise the justice and strength of our case'.

'In the Memorandum submitted to the Cabinet Mission later by the National Conference, the demand for independence from autocracy was reiterated: (To-day the national demand of the people of Kashmir is not merely the establishment of responsible Government, but their right to absolute freedom from autocratic rule). The immensity of the wrong done to our people by the sale deed of 1846 can only be judged by looking into the actual living conditions of the people. It is the depth of our torment that has given strength to our protest'.

'The indifferent attitude of the Cabinet Mission to the claims of the States' people convinced us that freedom would not be given to a hundred million people who were to be left to groan under the heel of autocratic ruler. Consequently, the National Conference gave a call to the people to prepare themselves for fresh ordeal and new responsibilities in the final bid for the capture of power from the hands of autocracy. This call came on the eve of the transfer of power in India and was, therefore, in keeping with the spirit of the time'.

'The partition of India in 1947 brought many new problems and developments, its administration began to shake and the Government made efforts to patch up the cracking structure. Its incompetence had become glaring. With the tribal raids on the State in October, 1947 it was obvious that the Maharaja's authority had ceased to function and the real power lay in the hands of the people'.

'The future constitutional set-up in the State of Jammu and Kashmir cannot derive authority from the old source of relationship which was expiring and was bound to end soon. The set-up could only rest on the active will of the people of the State, conferring on the Head of the State the title and authority drawn from the true and abiding source of sovereignty, that is the people'.

'In 1946, I had also indicated the basis on which an individual could be entrusted by the people with the symbolic authority of a constitutional head'.

'The State and its Head represent the constitutional circumstances, and the centre of this sovereignty respectively, the Head of the State being the symbol of the authority with which the people may invest him for the realisation of their aspiration and the maintenance of their rights'.

'Saint Thomas Aquinas, as early as the thirteenth century, described the consequences of a king refusing to realise his responsibilities in these wise words'.

'A king who is unfaithful to his duty forfeits the claim to obedience. It is not rebellion to depose him, for he is himself a rebel whom the

nation has a right to put down. But it is better to abridge his power that he may be unable to abuse it. All political authority is derived from the people, and all laws ought to be made by them or their own representatives. There is no security for us so long as we depend upon the will of another man'.

'There is no doubt that Yuvraj Karan Singh in his capacity as a citizen of the State will prove a fitting symbol of the transition to a democratic system in which the ruler of yesterday becomes the first servant of the people functioning under their authority and on their behalf'.

'The next issue before us is that of the compensation which we should or should not grant to those land owners who have been expropriated during the putting into operation of the 'land to the tiller' legislation, under which land was given back to the man who actually cultivates it'.

'The system of individual ownership of land is of modern growth and originally the land belonged in common to communities of kinsmen or to the State. Before the British rule the proprietors were by no means the real owners of the soil and of all methods for the collection of revenue during that time, the most noteworthy was that of collecting it direct from the cultivators through the Headmen of the villages. There is very little evidence to show that, in Moghul and Sikh times, there were many rent paying tenants. The Aai-ni-Akbari not only contains no regulations about tenants but also recognises no intermediary between the cultivator and the State. Nevertheless, there were some types of intermediaries in the pre-British period and also in later times and it is the existence of these intermediaries which led to the development of landlordism in the State. The revenue farmers were one class of such intermediaries and so were the different privileged classes of assignees, jagirdars, muafidars and mukarraridars, all enjoying feudal concessions which were created during the Moghul and the Sikh times and also during the Dogra Rule.

'In the Jammu Province, ownership of land was granted by State Deeds during the Sikh Rule and the earlier period of the Dogra Rule. In the Kashmir Province, the ownership of land was held by the Ruler since 1846 when Maharaja Gulab Singh purchased Kashmir from the British. It was in 1933 as a result of the pressure of public opinion that proprietary right in land was conferred on the landholders in the Kashmir Province including the Frontier Districts, but this concession to mass demand for transfer of proprietorship of land to the actual cultivators was reduced to a fiction inasmuch as large tracts of land granted by earlier Rulers to influential persons, Rajas and Dewans by State Deeds were construed and acted upon as grants of the right of proprietorship in land. In this manner were created big proprietors who did not cultivate their lands themselves, but had tenants who paid them rent in cash and kind. The small peasant-proprietor who cultivated land with his own hands also existed, but there were cases

where the cultivators who had originally acquired holders' right and were recorded as such were relegated to the position of tenants by the right of land holding being granted by the Ruler to some of his favourites who did not cultivate the land themselves and were pure and simple rentreceivers'.

'While the land settlement in the State was rightly made with the peasant-proprietors, the settlement with the intermediary proprietors was not made on their recognition as proprietors of the soil but because of certain political and financial reason. It was well understood, even by the successive Settlement Officers and Settlement Commissioners in the State, that though the intermediate proprietors were to be declared the proprietors of the soil, their tenants really were no ordinary tenants but were, in most cases, the original and hereditary possessors of the soil.

The first regular Settlement conducted in the State had perhaps nothing to do with the determination of the historical and accurate theory of the intermediary proprietors position, nor was its function to confer on the proprietors a position comparable to what they originally were. It appears that the task of the Settlement authorities was only to legalize all the original acts of illegality and usurpation by which intermediary revenue farmers or rent-receivers had assumed great power and influence in the period of disorder, before a proper Revenue administration came to the country'.

At the first regular Settlement, the area of land not under cultivation was very large. In 1891 A.D. when the late Sir Walter Lawrence was in the State, every inducement was given to the cultivators to till the land and in this way large tracts of State land were brought under cultivation. But even such land as had been reclaimed and brought under the plough by the cultivators were gifted away in proprietary right to influential persons. There were grants of land known as chaks made under Order Nos. 5 and 6 otherwise known as the Pratap Code. All these grants were subjected to substantial concession inland revenue. There were grants of different kinds as, for instance State Officials' Grant in Perpetuity, Hindu Grants and others. The vast majority of these concessionist land holders obtained their grants by virtue of the high positions they had acquired. The grants under the Pratap Code were entirely made to the clan and the kinsmen of the Royal House in whose favour were also released some State Forest Reserves. With the demarcation of forests in the State several areas were excluded from the forests and let out for cultivation and for purposes of agriculture. State lands were similarly permitted to be used as Grazing Ground. The reclaimed land out of the Wular Lake, and in and around the Dal Lake which was owned by the State, was also released for cultivation. And then under Raj Tilak Boon No. 4 about 26 years ago, State waste lands were granted as village Commons equivalent to the aggregate cultivated land of each village, with the same rights as the landholders enjoyed in respect of their existing holdings. Even

after the first regular Settlement many estates were sold to speculators or given over to those who were prepared to meet the land revenue demand in cases where default was made by actual cultivators, and the right to own land was recognised as that of the revenue payer as against the actual cultivator who defaulted. The non-cultivating land-owners leased out their interests and the middlemen leased it out in turn, creating a long chain of rent receivers and rent payers who intervened between the State and the actual cultivators.

'It will thus be seen that a substantial portion of the landed property came to be owned from such land as well as property of the State before and in every case the acquisition of land was free from any encumbrance or payment of any consideration'.

CHAPTER XXIII
LIST OF ANCIENT CLASSICS

<i>Name</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Kashayapa	Drained out water from the Satisar and brought Brahmins to live in the reclaimed land-Kashyap-mar or Kashmir.
Patanjali	Author of Grammar and of the books of medicine and yoga philosophy. His house was at a village called Gonard or Gudar in the Kulgam Tehsil.
Mammatacharya	Poet and Rhetorician.
Karyatacharya	Author of Sanskrit Grammar. Lived at Raj Chhajkot, a village above Avantipora.
Ummatacharya	Author of commentary on Vedas.
Vamana	Author of Grammar.
Rudrata	Poet.
Vagabhatta	Poet and author of books on medicine.
Charaka	Author of books on medicine.
Bamala	Poet.
Bashu Gupta	Lived about the end of 8th Century of the Christian era. He was the founder of Shaiva philosophy, having learnt it from Shiva himself in a dream.
Shiva Swami	Author of book on Shaiva philosophy. Lived in 815-900 A.D.
Bhaskara	Pupil of Shri Kantha Bhatta. Lived probably in 11th Century of Christian era.
Jagodhara	Poet and author of Grammar.
Bhatta	Poet.
Ananda Vardhan	Poet.
Chhachhak Bhatt	Author of Grammar.
Rochat or Ruyyak	Poet.
Udbhatta	Poet.
Kshemendra	Wrote the Rajtarangini in 1148-49 A.D.
Kalhana	Historian.
Jonaraja	Lived in the time of Zain-ul-Abdin (1420-70 A.D.). Wrote the Rajtarangini from the time Kalhana had left it down to his own time,

<i>Name</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Shrinara	Pupil of Jonaraja. Continued the Rajtarangini from 1459-86 A.D.
Prajya Bhatta	Continued the Rajtarangini down to the time of annexation of Kashmir by Akbar 1586 A.D.
Jayaratha	Author of books on Shaiva Philosophy. Lived about 12th Century of Christian era.
Shivopadhyaya	Author of books on Shaiva Philosophy. His home was at Habbakadal, Srinagar. Lived about 1571 A.D.
Sharvavarma	Author of Grammar.
Damodar Gupta	Poet.
Ratnakantha	Poet and author of books on Shaiva Philosophy.
Manka	Author of Dictionary.
Balabhata	Author of books on Shaiva Philosophy.
Somadeva	Author of Brahmkatha which is in the possession of some Brahmins at Bhoori Kadal who practise fortune telling by looking into it.
Abhinanda	Poet of the highest order equal to Kalidas.
Vallabhadeva	Poet.
Narahari	Poet and Commentator.
Kumorajina	(Tungheo—Chinese title) 384-417 A.D.
Bilhava	Poet.

CHAPTER XXIV

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Sikh Period	Safarnama Ranjit Singh by Akhbari, Tarikh Kashmir by Birbal Kachroo, Vigne, Hugel.
Dogra Period	Gulzar-i-Kashmir and Gulabnama by D. Kirpa Ram, Khulasatul Twarikh by Mirza Said-ud-Din Beg, Ancient Monuments by R. C. Kak, Kashmiri Pandit by Anand Kaul*.

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Sri Kantha wrote Balabodhina in 1475.

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